

Imprimatur,

Geo. Stradling. S.T.P. Rev.  
in Christo Pat. D: Gilb.  
Episc. Lond. à Sac. Domest.

Ed. Sab.  
16. 1662.

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# Toleration DISCUSS'D.

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By *ROGER L'ESTRANGE*.

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*Ferre quam Sortem patiuntur Omnes,  
Nemo recuset.*  
Sen. Troas.

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L O N D O N,

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Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in  
Ivie-Lane, 1663.

advento II

advento III

advento IV



# The Praeface.



AM not so vain, as to expect,  
that any Man will be either the  
Better, or the Wiser, for what  
I write; and yet, when I con-  
sider, that God Himself, is  
pleas'd with Free-will Offerings (though ne're  
the Richer for them) I make That Thought  
my Measure: and how Incapable-soever of Do-  
ing the Publique a Service, I think my self; yet  
*Honestly Oblig'd to Offer it a Duty;* and  
This poor Little is My All.

The Subje& I Treat of, is, TOLERATION; wherein (with Modesty) I have not  
ventur'd beyond my Reach: For, upon the Ven-  
tilation of the Question, It seems to mee, that  
it is one of the Hardest Things in the  
World, for the Non-conformists to say What

## The Praeface.

They would have; and one of the Easieſt  
(on the other ſide) to Overthow All they  
can ſay. To give the Reader a Clear, Di-  
ſtinct, and Impartiall Prospect of the Matter,  
I have layd the Debate before him in Collo-  
quy; and under the Names of CONFOR-  
MITY, ZEAL, and SCRUPLE, are Re-  
preſented the Three Grand Partyes, OR-  
THODOX, PRESBYTERIAN, and  
INDEPENDENT. That which firſt put  
mee upon this Theme, was the Great and Irre-  
gular Earnelneſſe, that was not long ſince Em-  
ploy'd, toward the Procurement of a Tolera-  
tion. Concerning which, I found my ſelf at a  
Double Loſſe: First, touching the Proposition  
it ſelf; and Secondly, about the Manner of  
Promoting it.

As to the Former, Me thought Toleration  
in Groſs, was of ſomething a Mysterious La-  
titude; but upon the taking it in pieces, I per-  
ceive, that nothing can be plainer than the  
Meaning of it; and the Truth is, It means  
[not to be understood] that they may be ſure  
to make ſomething on't, whether it Hitts or  
Miſſes. The One way, they may do what they  
please; and the Other way, there's a Ground for  
a Compleynt.

## The Praeface.

Second thing that surpriz'd me not a little, was the Manner of Introducing it; for, it was Usher'd in by All the Querulous wayes of Compleynt and Aggravation, Imaginable: Which I presume, they would have forborn, had they but been Acquainted with the Justices Opinions (in the 2<sup>d</sup> of King James) upon that very Point.

It was demanded by Chanceller Crooks Reports  
Part 2, Pa. 37.  
Ellesmere, Whether it were an Offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions, and Collected a Multitude of Hands thereto, to Prefer to the King, in a Publique Cause, as the Puritans had done, with an Intimation to the King, That if He Deny'd Their Suit, many Thousands of his Subjects would be Discontented? Whereunto all the Justices Answer'd, That it was an Offence Finable at Discretion, and very near to Treason and Felony, in the Punishment, For they Tended to the Raising

*The Preface.*

Raising of Sedition, Rebellion, and  
Discontent among the People.

Upon the Rejection of their Suit, the Business  
was Hush'd, till of Late; When the Revival of  
their Pretensions, together with the Dispersing  
of divers Virulent Libells, mov'd me to Gather  
up my Thoughts, which I here submit to the Fate  
of my other Weaknesses. I might say Twenty  
things, to Excuse the slips of my Distracted Lei-  
sures; but I shall rather Recommend what's  
worth the Reading, than Trifle away a Com-  
plement for that which is not.

I caus'd a Little Tract lately to be Re-printed,  
under the Title of Presbytery Display'd: Who  
was the Author of it, I know not; but it is Cer-  
tainly, a Judicious, and well-Order'd Draught  
of Their Government, and may serve to stop  
Any Presbyterian's Mouth that Opens for a  
Toleration, which how Formidable-soever it  
may Appear in a Petition, is Certainly a most  
Pitifull Thing in an Argument.

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The Contents are to be found at the End of the Book.

Toleration



## Toleration Discus'd.

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## INTRODUCTION.

ZEAL and CONFORMITY;

And to Them

SCRUPEL.

Zeal.



Ood morrow to ye, Conformity.

Conform. Welcome, Zeal. Is this  
your Eight a clock? As sure as I live,  
*A Presbyterian forfeits his Charter that  
keeps touch with a Son of the Church.*

Zeal. 'Tis Late I Confess, but I could  
not possibly get away sooner.

Conf. And I beseech ye (if a body may ask) what mighty  
businēs hinder'd ye?

Zeal. Gues's.

Conf. Why then, my Head to a Nut-shell, thou haſt ei-  
ther been Breathing thy Girles at ſome Prohibited Lecture;  
or getting Hands againſt the Act for Uniformity. Go to,  
ſpeak Truth, What made You and your Ladies ſo early  
abroad this Morning? (for I ſaw ye at the Back-gate as  
foon as ye could well find the way to it)

Zeal.

B

Zeal.

## Toleration Discus'd.

Zeal. Suppose I should tell ye, that we went to a Religious Meeting.

Conf. Then would I tell you again that 'tis well your Wife is My Kinswoman.

Ze. What's your Conceit for That?

Conf. I should suspect she might be tempted Else to make your Head ake: For Those Assemblies which you call Religious Meetings; What are they, but close Appointments, where the Men meet to Cuckold Authority: and the Women (if they please) to do as much for their Husbands? Without Fooling, I look upon Conventicling, but as a Graver kind of Catter-mawling; and in fine, 'Tis not good to wont our selves to stolnpleasures.

Ze. You will be Bitter.

Conf. No no, I will not. Raillery apart, Your Wife's a very good Lass. But where have you been in Earnest?

Ze. To tell you the very Truth, I have been, with my Wife and my Daughter, to see Mr. Calamy of his Enlarge-  
ment.

Conf. Bless me! Is he at Liberty then?

Ze. Yes, He is at Liberty. Doye Wonder at it?

Conf. No, not much. But, prethee why was he Clapt up?

Ze. For Preaching. Is not That Crime enough?

Conf. That's according as the Sermon is; For so as a man may order the Matter in a Pulpit, I think he may with a better Conscience Deliver Poysen in the Sacra-  
ment; for the One does but Destroy the Body, t'Other the Soul. This, poysons only the Congregation; That, the whole Kingdome.

Ze. I sent ye his Sermon last night, have ye overlookt it?

Conf. Yes: And I have weigh'd every Syllable in't.

Ze. Well, and How doye find it?

Conf. Only a Plague-plaister, that's made Publique for the Good of His Majesties Liege-People. Find it say ye? If ever I live to be King of Utopia, I'll hang him up that Prints the fellow on't within my Dominions.

Zeal.

## Toleration Discus'd.

Zeal. And what shall become of him that Preaches it, I beseech ye?

Conf. Perhaps I'll spare him for his Industry; for a Presbyterian that Preaches Sedition, do's but Labour in's Calling.

Ze. Come leave your Larking, and tell me Soberly; What hurt do you find in't?

Conf. That Hurt that brought the Late King to the Scaffold. And (in a word) which will unsettle the Best Establish'd Government in the world, with a very small Encouragement; That Hurt do I find in't.

Ze. Truly, My Eyes can discover no such Matter.

Conf. It may be you'll see better with my Spe<sup>g</sup>acles. But where's your Brother-Scruple? He was not with you at Mr. Calamy's, I hope.

Ze. No, ye know Hee's of another way; I think he'll call upon me here by and by; for we are to go into the City together about Busines.

Conf. What ever the Matter is, I have a strange Itch to day to know your Bulinefs. Prethee is't a Secret?

Ze. 'Tis a Secret, to You, if you do n't know't. But what if I should Long as much now to know what 'tis that makes you so Inquisitive?

Conf. I'd save your Longing; Nay, and for fear of the worst, I'll prevent it. They say that you and your Brother are gathering Hands to a Petition against the Act for Uniformity.

Ze. Put case we were, what Then?

Conf. In the Day that You Offer That Petition, will I and My Friends prefer Another against the Act of Indemnity.

Ze. Sure ye do not take it for the same case. Have you read the Kings late Declaration of December 26?

Conf. Yes; and I see nothing There, but that His Ma-jesty finds Himself Oblig'd to preserve Both Alike.

Ze. Do ye Remember what he Says concerning his Promises from Breda?

Conf. Oh very well; and I would advise you as a Friend not to mind Him too much of them: For first, His Ma-

## Toleration Discus'd.

*lest* has done *HIS PART* in consenting to the *Mature and deliberate Offers of his Parliament.*

2. You have (Many of ye) fail'd of *Yours* in not Complying with the Conditions of his Royal Mercy. But to the point I am to speak with you about.

Ze. *Do so, What is't? Look ye; Here's Scruple come already.*

Conf. So much the Better, for I have somewhat to say to ye Both. Come, *Scruple*, I think I may thank your Brother here for This Visit.

Scrup. *Truly if it were Thankworthy, so you might; for I am only come to call him away about Busines into the City.*

Conf. Nay never talk of Busines into the City before Dinner; for, to my Knowledge, the Afternoon is time enough for your Busines.

Scrup. *In Good Truth, we are Engag'd upon an Appointment.*

Conf. I know ye are, and that's the Reason I desir'd to speak with your Brother this Morning. You Two are to be at *Town-ditch* this Morning, if it be possible; or however, sometime to Day. Is't not so?

Ze. *Pray'e where have You your Intelligence?*

Conf. I have a certain Familiar that tells Tales out of School. Come, Come, Resolve upon the Afternoon, 'Tis but Reprieving Bishops a matter of two hours Longer.

Ze. *Well, Since you'll have it so, it shall be so: but let me tell ye, your Devil deceives ye; for we have no Design at all upon Episcopacy.*

Conf. Y'Intend to Petition the Parliament; Do ye not?

Ze. *It may be we do.*

Conf. In good time; and what's the Scope of your Petition?

Ze. *That we may be left at Liberty to Worship God according to our Consciences.*

Conf. Have you well consider'd what will be the Fruit of Granting that Liberty?

Ze. *It will exalt the Kings Honour, Establish the Peace of;*

## Toleration Difens'd.

of the Nation, Promote all Honest Interests; and Satisfie  
all Good Men.

Conf. Make That Good, and ye shall have my Hand to  
your Petition.

Scrup. And if we do not make it Good, We'll Renounce our  
Claim.

Conf. Come Gentlemen, There's a Fire in my Study,  
and we have Two Hours good to Dinner. Let's make use  
of our Time.

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### S E C T. I.

#### Liberty of Conscience Stated.

Conf. If I do not mistake ye, my Masters, the Thing ye  
Contend for is a Toleration.

Scrup. It is so.

Ze. And that we may not be Enjoyn'd (upon a Penalty) to  
do that which we think we ought not to do.

Conf. Your Pardon, my Friend; That's not the Question, I do not Ask ye what ye would Not have, but what ye Would: Not what y'ret Against, but what y'ret For. I know well enough that the Act for Uniformity displeaseth ye; but I would fain know when That's gon, what will Please ye, that we may not Destroy a Law to no purpose.

Ze. Allow us but a Freedome to Worship God, according to  
the Rule of his own word, and that Freedome shall content us.

Scrup. Inshort, the Thing we Desire is Liberty of Con-  
science.

Conf. Liberty of Conscience? What Mortal can pretend  
to take it from ye?

Ze. Do's not the Act for Uniformity Debar us of it?

Conf. Not at all; Your Actions indeed are Limited, but  
your Thoughts are Free; What do's This or That Gua-  
rment, or Gesture Concern the Conscience?

## Toleration Discus'd.

Ze. *But if I believe it unlawfull to Worship Them, or S<sup>t</sup>:*  
*Whatsoever is not of Faith, is lin:*

Conf. At this Rate, for ought that I know, ye may Believe it unlawfull to worship at all: For ye may as well Except to *every mode* which is *Not* commanded, as to *That* which *Is*. (But we are upon the Merits of the Cause, before we state the Question.) *Liberty of Conscience* (according to my Books) is a *Liberty of Judging*, not of *Acting*; but I perceive the *Liberty* which *You* claym, is a *Liberty of Practice*.

Ze. *No matter for the Word, so long as we Agree upon the Meaning.*

Conf. Nay, by your favour, Z<sup>e</sup>:d, we are not as yet Agreed upon *Either*; for that which you seem to Ask in *One* sense, you Resolve to *Take in Another*: That is, ye Ask leave to *Think* whatye will, and ye Take leave to *Do* what ye will; so that the *Liberty You demand*, is rather Matter of *State*, then of *Religion*: And to Ask, that ye may govern your selves by your own *Consciences*, is the same Thing with Asking to be no longer govern'd by the Kings Laws.

Scrup. *Cannot Liberty of Conscience then consist with Civil Obedience?*

Conf. Yes, *Liberty of Conscience* may, but not *Liberty of Action*; If *Liberty of Conscience* will content ye, disclaim *Liberty of Practice*; But if ye must needs have *Liberty of Practice*, *speak out*, and do not call it *Liberty of Conscience*.

Scrup. *Give it what Name you please; The Liberty I Desire, is a Liberty towards God in Matters of Religion:*

Conf. But what do ye mean by those *Matters of Religion*?

Zeal. *Whatsoever has the Honour of God for its Direct and Immediate End, under which Head, may be comprised* [Ceremonies properly sacred and significant by Humane Institution] [Religious Mystical Habits] [Canonical Subscription,] [Holy-dayes] ---and in fine, *such Inventions of Worship as are not warranted by Gods Word.*

Conf.

*Interest of Engl.  
Pa 86.  
P. 84. 86.  
87. 94.*

## Toleracion Discuss'd.

Conf. So that upon the whole Matter, The Liberty you Demand, is a Liberty of Practice, in such Matters of Religion, as have the Honour of God for their Direct and Immediate End. All which, in one word, amounts to a Toleration, and so much for the state of the Question.

The Non-conformists Demand.

## S E C T. II.

### Universal Toleration unlawfull.

Conf. If a Toleration you would have, it must be either Absolute, and Generall, or Limited and Partial.

Scrup. Let it be Generall then, for doubtless if a Man be Oblig'd to Worship, it supposes him Free to do't in such Manner as he finds himself Bound to do't.

Conf. This Argument of yours takes in Pagans, as well as Christians, for They have Consciences as well as Wee, and They are convinc'd that there is a God, and that That God ought to be Worship'd; so that to grant a General License, is to Tolerate Paganisme.

Zeal. But Paganisme is not within the Pale of the Question.

Conf. Why then no more is Conscience; for if you exclude Pagans, upon what Accomp't is't? They perswade Themselves they are in the Right, You think them in the Wrong, and because of the Error of Their Way, deny them the Exercise of their Opinions; so that your Exception lyes to the Error, not to the Conscience.

Scrup. But their Consciences are Erroneous.

Conf. They are so, if You may be Judges of Them, and so are Yours too, when You come to be Judg'd by Us. Now tell me, What Right have You to be Judges in your own Case, any more then They in Theirs?

Ze. We have a Law to judge our selves by.

Conf. And, They, even without a Law, do by Nature the Rom. 2. 14 things contained in the Law, and are a Law to Themselves:

But

## Toleration Disquisit.

But to look nearer Home, 'Tis it seems among Christians only, that you would have a General Toleration; and That in my opinion helps ye not much; for to uphold your Claim, you must either maintain that there are no Errant Christians Consciences among Christians, or that Error of Conscience is no Sin, or else that Sin may be Tolerated.

Scrup. That there are Erroneous Consciences, and that sin is not to be Tolerated, I Grant ye; but I do not take every Error of Conscience to be a sin (& understand me, of Consciences labouring under an Invincible Ignorance.)

Conf. 'Tis very true, the Formality of sin is the Obligitory of the Will; but sin, Materially consider'd, is the Transgression of the Divine Law: and Conscience it self becomes sinfull, when it dictates against That Law.

Scrup. Can there be any sin without Consent? or any Consent without Knowledge? or any Knowledge in a Case of Invincible Ignorance? The Transgression of the Law implies the Knowledge of it, or at least the Possibility of knowing it; without which, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to mee.

<sup>Laud against Fisher. p. 197.</sup>  
Rom. 7.7.  
Rom. 4.15.

[The Conditions Requisite to a Rule, are These, it must be Certain; and it must be Known: If it be not Certain, 'tis no Rule; if it be not Known, 'tis no Rule to Us.] I had not known sin (says the Apostle) but by the Law; and in another place, [Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression:] From whence the Deduction is clear, that sin is not barely the Transgression of a Law, but the Transgression of a known Law; the Inconformity of the Will to the Understanding.

<sup>Rom. 5.13.</sup>

Conf. The Perverseness of the Will being a Sin, does not hinder the Enormity of the Judgment to be so too, [Until the Law (says your own St. Paul) sin was in the World, but sin is not imputed when there is no Law.] Briefly; The Word of God is the Rule of Truth, and All Disproportion to That Rule is Error; God's Revealed Will is the Measure of Righteousness, and all Disproportion to That Measure is sin. Now the Question is not, Whether Imputed or not, but whether a Sin or no? and you cannot make Error of Conscience be no Sin, without making the Word of God to be no Rule.

Scrup.

Scrup. I do not deny, but it is ~~a~~ far as to the Law; but it is None as to the Person: It is none constructively, with Him that accepts the Will for the Deed.

Conf. Can you imagine, that any Condition in the Delinquent can operate upon the Force, and Equity of the Law? Because God spares the Offender, shall Man therefore Tolerate the Offence? David was Pronounc'd a Man after God's own Heart; shall Authority therefore grant a License to Murther and Adultery?

Scrup. What's David's Case to Ours? You Instance in Sins of Presumption, and the Question is touching Sins of Ignorance.

Conf. Your Patience, I beseech you: It may be Ignorance in him that Commits the sin, and yet Presumption in him that Suffers it; You cannot comprehend it, perhaps; but the Magistrate does; and wherein You Doubt, Authority is Certain: I could lead you now by a Thred, from the Toleration of all Opinions, to the Toleration of all Practices; and shew you the execrable Effects of giving way to the Impulses of Deluded Conscience; But what needs That, When Two words will dispatch This Controversie? In Pleading for All Opinions, you plead for all Heresies, and for the establishment of wickedness by a Law. Do ye think such a Toleration as This, either fit for You to Ask, or for Authority to Grant?

Ze. But is it not Pity, (considering our Duty is Obedience, and not Wisedom) that a Good man should be punished for not being a Wise Man?

Conf. And do not you think we should have fine work, if a State were bound to make no Provision against Crafty Knaves, for fear of Dis-obliging Honest Fools: You'll set no Trapps for Foxes, for fear of catching your Lambs; and Hunt no Wolves for fear some of your Cows should stumble upon a Sheep. In short, the Honest will Obey Good Laws, and let not the ~~Un~~wise pretend to Mind them. As to the sparing of the Man, (ever where 'twere Impious to give Quarter to the Opinion) I wish it could be done; but how shall we separate the Zirant from the

## Toleration Discus'd.

Person; so as to make a General Law take notice of it? To Tolerate Both were *Irreligious*, and it seems to Mee Impossible to sever them. If you your self now can either prove the Former to be *Lawfull*, (that is, to do evil, that Good may come of it) or the Latter to be *Practicable*, I'll agree with you *For a General Toleration*: If otherwise, I hope you'll joyn with me, Against it.

Zec. *The Truth is, I am not yet Resolv'd to Burn for This Opinion; but what do ye think of a Limited, or Partial Toleration?*

Conf. I fear, you'll find That, as much too Narrow for your Conscience, as the other is too Wide: but We'll Try't however.

### S E C T. III.

*Limited Toleration does not answer Liberty of Conscience.*

Conf. **W**E are already Agreed, That a Toleration of All Opinions, is a Toleration of all Wick'dness, and consequently *Unlawfull*. Come now to your *Limited*, or *Partial Toleration*, which I take to be *A Legal Grant of Freedom, or Immunity, to such or such a Sect, or Way, and to no Other*. Will a Toleration of This Latitude content ye?

Scrup. *I See no other Choice.*

Conf. Would ye have it Granted in favour of the Conscience that Desires it, or in Allowance of the Tolerated Opinion?

Scrup. *With an Eye to Both; that Nothing, which is Grievous may be Impos'd on the One hand, nor any thing which is Unlawfull Tolerated on the Other.*

Conf. *But what if the Subject shall accompe that Imposition*

## Toleration Discus'd.

sition Grievous which the Magistrate thinks Necessary? or That Liberty Conscientious which the Magistrate believes Unlawful? Whether of the Two shall Over-rule? If the *Su'jett*, Then is the Magistrate Oblig'd to Tolerate whatsoever the Subject shall think himself Oblig'd to Doe; and This carries us back into a General Toleration; If the Magistrate Over-rules, (as certainly 'Tis his Right, for no man can be properly said to Suffer, what he has not a Power to Hinder) Your Plea of Conscience, is out of Doors.

Scrup. By your Leave, Conformity; I would not break Either of them Govern Absolutely and Severally in the Case? For if the Magistrate be left to Himself, He may either set up a False Religion, or Suppress the Right, at pleasure; and the People by Themselves, may as well Mistake as the Magistrate: whereas Together, the One Looks to the Other. But tell me, I beseech ye, would you have no Toleration at all?

Conf. Upon my word, Scraple; no man is a greater friend to Toleration then I am, if I could but hit upon such a Measure as agrees with Piety, and Political Convenience: with such a Model as would probably answer the End you seem to aim at: but to Dissolve a Solemn Law for the Satisfaction of some Particulars, and at last to leave the People more unsatisfy'd then ye found them, were a Course (I think) not very Suitable to the Ordinary Method either of Government, or of Discretion; and That I fear would be the Event of Satisfying your Desires in This Particular. Pray try your Skill, if you can contrive it otherwise; and say what 'tis would please ye.

Ze. An Exemption from the Lash of the Act of Uniformity.

Conf. Well! What's your Quarrel to't? Slavery or grubbing? Ze. I think 'tis a Great Cruelty to Confine a Multitude of Differing Judgments to the same Rule, and to punish & Conscientious People for those Disagreements which they can neither Reconcile, nor Relinquish.

Conf. Why do ye then Preach That Cruelty your Selves,

## Toleration Discus'd.

which you Condemn in Others. For your *Limited Toleration* is an *Act of Uniformity* to Those that are Excluded. They that are taken *In* will possibly be well enough pleased; but you never think of Those that are left *Out*: whereas you are to Consider that They that are *Out*, have *Consciences* as well as those that are *In*; and Those that are *In*, have no more *Priviledge*, then They that are *Out*. So that, upon a fair view of the Matter, You can neither *Admit All*, nor *Leave Out Any*, without a Check either to your *Conscience* or to your *Argument*. For put Case, The King should Grant ye a *Limited Toleration*; would That Quiet ye &

*Ze. Yes, beyond doubt it would.*

*Conf. Imagine it then, and your self One of the Rejected Party. Are not you as well, *Nor*, without any *Toleration at all*; as you will be *Then*, without the *Benefit of it*.*

*Scrup. To deal freely, I would not willingly be Excluded.*

*Conf. And is not That Every Mans Case as well as Yours? A *Limited Toleration* must Exclude *Some*; and why not *You*, as well as *Another*? What Prerogative have *You* above Your *Fellows*? Or why should not *All* be Tolerated as well as *Any*? They can no more Abandon Their Opinions, than *You Yours*, and *Your waies* are to *Them*, just the *same Grievances*, which (if ye may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*.*

*Scrup. But are not *Some Opinions* more Tolerable than *Others*? Do ye put no Difference betwixt Points Fundamentally Necessary, and but Accidentally so? Betwixt the very Basis of Christianity, and the Superstructure?*

*Conf. Ye pursue a Shadow. Who shall define, Which are *Fundamentals*, and which not? If Both parties, (according to your former hint) There's only a *Confusion of Law, and Subjection*, without any *Clear, or Certain Result*. If the *Dissensive Body* of the *People*, your *Limited Dispensation*, runs into an *Indeterminable Liberty*. If the *Supreme Magistrate*, Your claim of *Conscience* falls to *Nothing*, so that, step where ye will, You'll find no *Footing* upon This Bottom.*

*Now*

A.B.

Now to the *Fundamentals* you speak of ; bate but That Grand Foundation of our Faith, that *Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh* ; and that *Whosoever Confesses that Jesus Christ is Job. 4. 3. is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and Hee in God.* --- 15.

Abating (I say) That Radical Principle (which if we Disbelieve, we are no longer Christians) there's scarce One point that has not been subjected to a Controversie. In a word, The Reason of your Proposal requires Either an *Universal Toleration*, or *None at all* : unles you can find out an Expedient to *Oblige All by Gratifying Some*. I do not press This, as an Utter Enemy to all Indulgence ; but I would not have it *Extorted by Importunity and Struggling* ; nor Granted in such a Manner as to look like a Composition thena Favour. If You should ask me indeed whether a Prince, upon Special Grace, and meer Motion, may not Grant a *Toleration of some certain Opinions* ; 'Tis past Dispute, he *May* ; But the Same Freedome granted upon a *Popular Claim*, is quite Another thing, and neither *Safe*, nor *Lawful*.

Scrup. *Pray'e make me understand the Difference.*

Conf. 'Tis only This ; If it be the *Subject's Due*, 'tis none of the King's : so that the *People* are Supreme, the *One Way*, and the *Prince the Other*. Now whether it be either *Safe* for a Prince to *submit his Regality to the Claims of the People* ; or *LAWFULL* for him, to *devest himself of That Authority, wherewith God has Entrusted him* ; lay This under your Pillow, and Advise upon't.

## S E C T. IV.

## The Non-conformists Plea for TOLERATION upon Reason of State.

*Conf.* Since you are not able to make out your Claim to a Toleration, from the Equity of the Thing; Nay, since it appears (on the Contrary) that all Indulgences of That Quality are totally Dependent upon the Will, and Judgment of the Magistrate; You should do well do Leave Complaining, as if the Government did ye an Injury, (where Effectually You have no Right at all) and rather labour fairly to possest the world, that you are a Sort of People to whom the King may with Honour and Safety extend a Bounty.

The Ordinary Inducements to Indulgence, are These Three. 1. Reason of State, wherein is propos'd either the gaining of an Advantage, or the Shunning of an Inconvenience. 2. The Singular Merits of the Party: and Here, Gratitude takes place. 3. The Innocence, and Modesty, of their Practises and Opinions: which is a strong Motive; when Particulars may be Oblig'd without any Hazard to the Publicke. To Begin with the First.

What Reason of State can You now produce that may Move his Majesty to Grant the Non-Conformists a Toleration?

Scrup. If you had put the Contrary Question, I had Pos'd me: Are not the Non-Conformists the Kings Subjects? And what's a King without his People?

*Conf.* The Non-Conformists are, by Birth, and Obligation, the Kings Subjects, but they are not so in Practice, and Obedience. They renounce the Law, and in so doing, they Cast themselves out of the Pale of Subjection.

*Ze.* I suppose you will not Deny them however to be a Numerous Party, and some Experience you have had likewise

## Toleration Discuss'd.

13

of their Conduct, Unity, and Resolution; which Moves me to look upon his Majesty, as (in some Measure) under a Prudential Necessity of Obliging so Considerable an Interest.

Conf. So far am I from admitting any Political Necessity of Yielding, that, to My Judgment, the Necessity appears strong, and clear aginst it.

Ze. We'll waive the General Question, if You please, and speak to the Convenience of This Junture.

Are not the Non-Conformists Numerous?

Conf. Upon the Poll, They are so; and More now too, then they were when His Majesty came In; and so long as they are Suffer'd, 'tis to be Expected they shall Encrease daily. But you say, They are Numerous: If they be, Consequently Dangerous; the Greater the Num' er is, the Greater is the Hazard; and Therefore, because they are Many Already, and will be More, if they be Suffer'd, they are not to be Tolerated.

Ze. But will not People be much more Peaceable, when they are Oblig'd, than when they are Persecuted?

Conf. Believe me, Matters are at an Ill pass, when the Prince lies at the Mercy of the People; and certainly the Multitude will be much Quieter without a Power to do Mischiëf, then with it. But why do ye say, Persecuted? They Persecute the Law, and then you cry the Law Persecutes Them. I would you'd deal frankly with me: What is (really) your Opinion of the Honesty of your Party?

Ze. I do seriously believe the Non-conformists to be an Honest, Conscientious Sort of People.

Conf. But they must be Knaves to make your Argument good: for, if they be Honest, They'll be Quiet without a Toleration. If they be Dishonest, They'll be Dangerous with it. Consider again; If there be any Hazard, wherein does it consist? not in the Multitude, but in the Confederacy. A Million of men without Agreement, are but as One Single Person. Now they must Confess, before they can Agree; and they must Meet before they can Com-

sult;

## Toleration Discus'd.

sult : so that, barely to hinder the *Assembling* of These Multitudes, Defeats the Danger of them. Whereas, on the Other side, To Permit Separate Meetings, is to Tolerate a Combination.

*Ze.* Right ; but Those Meetings and Consultations are pass'd already ; for sure the Non-Conformists have been long enough Acquainted to Understand one another.

*Conf.* So much the more Need to look after them ; and the less cause to Tolerate them : And for their *Agreement* in a General *Dissent* ; That signifies little, without the Means of joyning in a Particular Plot. Again ; as 'tis an Advantage on the One side, that the *Faction* know One another ; so is it an Equal Advantage on the Other side, that the King knows the *Faction* : which renders His Majesty at any time Master of it ; when His Royal wisdome shall direct him to suppress the heads of it.

*Ze.* Mistake me not. I do not say 'tis likely they will be Troublesome, in respect of their Judgments ; but that it is Possible for them to be so, in regard of their Number.

*Conf.* He that Fears all Possibilities, lives in a cold Sweat. But I beseech ye, Whether do You take to be the Greater Number ? Those that singly wish to be Discharg'd from the Act of Uniformity ; or Those that would have no Law at all ? Those that are troubled because they may not Worship according to their Phansie ; or Those that are displeas'd because they cannot Live and Rule, according to their Appetite ? The Traitor would have One Law discharg'd ; The Schismatique Another ; The Idolater a Third ; The Sacrilegious person a Fourth ; The Drunkard a Fifth ; The Conventicler a Sixth ; The Prophane Swearer a Seventh ; The False-Swearer an Eighth ; The Murtherer a Ninth ; The Seducer a Tenth : And in fine ; not One of a Thousand, but had rather Command, then Obey. Shall the King therefore Dissolve the Law, because there are so many Criminals ? That were to raise an Argument against Authority, from the very Reason of its Constitution. Shall the People be left to do what they List, because a great many of them would do what they shou'd not ? Shall his

Majesty

## Toleration Discus'd.

12

Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some Millions possibly in his Dominions, that had rather be *Kings* than *Subjects*. Less Forcible, beyond Question, is the Necessity of the Kings *Granting a Toleration*, than That of *Renouncing His Sovereignty*; for, doubtless, where there's One man that is truly Scrupulous, there are a Hundred Avaricious, Ambitious, and, in fine, Irreligious persons.

Zeal. I think we may better decide This *Question* from Experiment, and matter of Fact, than by Speculative Reasonings. Look back to the beginning of the *Late Warr*, and tell me; Do not you believe that there are more Non-Conformists Now, than there were Then?

Conf. Yes, I do verily believe that there are *Three, Now*, for *One, Then*.

Ze. Why then, the Odds are *Three to One* against you: for the Third part of This number, was Then the Predominant Interest of the Nation.

Conf. I could allow you even Treble That number too, and the Reason of my Assertion would yet bear it, upon the greater Odds of strength betwixt the Faction *then*, and *now*. As for Instance:

At the Beginning of the late Warr, they were Masters of the Tower, the Navy; of all considerable Towns, Forts, and Magazines: They had a great part of the Crown, and Church-Revenues under their Command, and London at their Beck; beside the Plunder of Malignants, and the bountiful Contributions of the well-affected. Scotland was already Confoederate with them, in *One* Rebellion; and they had made sure of *Another* in Ireland, (by persecuting, and with-holding the only Person capable to keep them Quiet: the Earl of Strafford) which Broyle they further Assisted, by manifest Opposals of his Majesty's Resolutions to suppress it. [See the Kings Speech of Decem. 14. 1641. and the following Petition concerning the same] Finally; for the better Countenance of their Usurpations, They had drawn down the Representative of the People into a Close-Committee, and the Arbitrary Votes of this Seditious Conventicle, passed with the Vulgar, for

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Ex. Coll. P. 2.  
& 3.

## Toleration Discus'd.

the Acts of a Regular, and Complete Authority. This was the Condition of the *Non-Conformists* Power *Formerly*, but (blessed be God) they are not at present so Formidable.

The Three Kingdoms are *Now* at Peace; and we have a Parliament that's no Friend to the Faction. The King is possest of a considerable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted: and the sword is in the wrong hand for Their business. His Majesty is Master likewise of his Rights, both of Power, and Revenue; and his Capital-City stands Right in its Obedience. To all which may be added, that although several Particulars of the Party are as Rich, as *Pillage and Pardon can make them*; yet they want a Common Stock to carry on a Common Cause: the Thimbles, and the Bodkins fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of [a] Irish Adventures; [b] Moneys and Plate upon the Propositions; [c] confiscated Estates; [d] Twentieth Parts; and [e] weekly Assessments; and a hundred other Pecuniary Stratagems (for the Ease of the Subject) are Departed from them.

If it be so, that These people have none of Those Advantages *Now* remaining, by virtue whereof they did so much Mischief *before*; what Necessity can any Mortal Imagine of Tolerating These Naked, and Supportless Creatures, for fear of Dis-obliging them?

*Ze.* Are they more Naked and Supportless, Now, than they were before the Long Parliament? Does it follow that they have no Power, because they do not Exercise it? Certainly, if they be more in Number Now, than they were Then, Those Abilities that Rais'd them Formerly, may Secure them at Present, from being thought Contemptible.

*Conf.* 'Tis true, before our Late Troubles they were as they are now (for matter of Power) and out of that Nothing they made themselves Considerable: yet still I cleave to my Opinion, that the same Abilities will not Now produce the same Effects; for the world will not be Twice Cousen'd with the same Trick; and as the Case stands, there is as little danger from their *Conquest*, as from their *Number*.

*Ze.*

- a* Ex. Coll.  
P. 84.
- b* P. 339.
- c* P. 609.
- d* P. 764.
- e* P. 392.

Zeal: This is a little strange; me thinks to Grant the Means, and Deny the End. The Two first Principles of Power (Men and Moneys) you have Allow'd them; and it is not for your Credit to say that These people want Conduct, by whom you your selves have beenworsted. If you have found them Considerable upon Experience, do not make them so Dispicable in your Argument.

Conf. Have a Care, Friend: For the Men that Worsted us, were a sort of People, that voted down Bishops on the wrong side of the Parliament door; That Cry'd, They Ex. Coll. would have no more Porters-Lodge at White-Hall; and told his Sacred Majesty in a Publique Declaration [Aug. 8.42.] that the Pretence that his Person was There in danger, was a Suggestion as false as the Father of Lies could Invent --- that Seiz'd the Tower, the Navy, the Kings Towns, Forts, Magazines, Friends and Revenues; that Levied war against, and Imprison'd his Sacred Person, Usurp'd his Sovereign Authority, Embrew'd their Hands in his Royal Bloud, and, in the very Pulpit, Animated and Avow'd the unexampled Murder. These were the Men thatworsted us, and These are the People which you plead for, under the Mask of Non-Conformists.

P. 533.  
P. 494.

Your Patience yet a little further. The Non-Conformists are Many, beyond Question, (for the whole seditious Party lurks under That Denomination) but so long as they are neither in Order, nor in Office, they are not valuable. They are Wealthy too; but so long as That Wealth lies in Particular Coffers, there's not much fear of it, as to the Publique. Now let them be as wise as you Imagine them, That Policy which over-threw the Late King, signifies nothing to the Hazzard of This: Nay more, That which was Then, Policy, would be Noir, Direct Folly.

Ze. This is but Discourse: My opinion is, that if they had the same Will, and Purpose to do Mischief which you suppose they have, they do not want Conduct to their Number, to make the Necessity of Complying with This Interest, to appear evident, past Contradiction.

Conf. Now Touching their Conduct. They must either do  
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## Toleration Discus'd.

the same thing over again, or steer another course : and their Method is too Notorious to succeed the one way, as their Persons are too well known to do any good the Other.

Scrup. I do not well understand what you mean by their Method ; for Wisdom, I suppose, does not confine her self to any Certain and prescript manner of working ; but shapes the Method to the Occasion.

Conf. I am neither totally With you, nor Against you, in This Poynt : For as in the Menage of Pública Affairs, there is much left to Habitual Prudence, and Discretion, without need of directing every little Circumstance, or Tracing every Line ; so are there certain General Rules ; certain Dispositive Means, which all wise men conclude to be of absolute Necessity to such certain Ends.

Scrup. The Question in hand is This ; Whether the Non-conformists be not an Intelligent, as well as a Numerous and Wealthy Party ? and how far Reason of State may prevail for the Toleration of a sort of people in so many Respects considerable ? Pray speak to This.

Conf. If they be very Wise, and very Many, they had need be very Honest too, there may be Danger else ; for if they be not Honest, 'tis Unsafe, and consequently Imprudent to Indulge them. I think, the best Measure both of their Honesty, and Wisdom, may be taken from the Rise, and Menage of the late Warr : Wherein, I must confess, there wanted neither Craft in the Packing of the Cards, nor Conduct in the Playing of them. But what if I should Ask you now, Who were the Prime Conductors in That Enterprize ? If you say, The Non-conformists ; then They are not Honest enough to be Trusted ; (*would you have the King Gratifie the Murtherers of his Father ?*) If you say Otherwise ; Then 'twas not Their Conduct that did the work, and they are not Wise enough to be fear'd. In short, (to give them their Due, and no More.) That which Destroy'd us Then, was the Conjunction of the most Perfidious of Subjects, with the most Pious and Charitable of Princes : The King, in fine, was Ruin'd by his own Goodnesse.

First,

## Toleration Discus'd.

21

First, without the Pacification at Berwick, in 1639, the Rebellion had been blasted in the Bud; And Secondly, his Majestye's Signing of the Bill for the Perpetual Parliament, put the English in a capacity of seconding their Scottish Brethren. These were the Two Capital Concessions that Kill'd the Royal Interest; The latter whereof, his Majesty (of ever blessed Memory) reflects upon, as

[*No sin of His Will, though an Errour of too Bind'g Bas.  
charitable a Judgement,*] and confesses that, [He  
did not thereby intend to shut Himself out of  
dore's, as some men had then Requited Him.]

P. 28. &c. 24.

There was likewise a fatal concurrence of *Sedition* and *Popular Ignorance*, to facilitate the Design. Alas! the late King was oppres'd even by Those that thought they fought for him, before ever they knew what they did; and the folly of the *Common Soc'cir* contributed no less to the General Fate, than the skill and malice of their *Leaders*. (Beside some unhappy *why-not's* and mistakes in the Kings Armyes, which are not at all pertinent to our discourse.)

Ze. Admitting what you say, still it was some Degree of Conduct to Procure those Grants, and to Improve Those Means.

Conf. Alas! If *Judas his Betraying his Master with a Kisse*; If the Enflaming of the People by false, and scurillous Invectives against their Sovereign; --If the Erecting of a Prerogative Convention by the force of Tumults, and then giving it the Name of a Parliament; --If the calling of God to Attest the Sanction of Perjury and Treason; or if to Engage the People by a Sacramental Vow to Defend the King, and then Hang them up for Adhering to him; --If This (I say) be *Conduit*: let No man presume to Dispute their Title to't. But if by *Conduit*, you intend a course of Honourable Wisdom, you'll hardly find any foot-steps of That *Conduit*, throughout the whole Transaction. Yet let this pass for *Conduit*, and let

## Toleration Discus'd.

the men that Govern'd the Design, be allow'd for Politicians; still I maintain, that *This Party*, though endow'd with the Wisdom of Angels, cannot in *This Juncture*; nor not in *This Age*, pretend again to be considerable.

*Ze.* That's sooner said, than prov'd.

*Conf.* Truly, I think not much; in regard that both Their *Ways*, and their *Persons* are too well Known, to be either *Suffer'd*, or *Credited*.

In Order to the late Warr, the Party had Two Games to play; for they were to make an Interest both with the King, and with the People, wherein their Master-piece was shew'd in prevailing with both King, and People, to Contribute to their own undoing; To wh<sup>ch</sup> End, They first, Acquainted Themselves with his Majesties Deareft Inclinations; and Next, with the Niceties, and Distresses of his Government, and Fortune: of which Discovery they made such use, as Enabled Them to Overturn the Order both of Church and State, and to perfect their long-Projected Reformation: For the late King's Predominant Affection being Piety, and Compassion, and his most Dangerous Diffrē's being want of Money, the Politicks of the Faction appear'd in nothing more, than in Working upon his Majestye's Goodness, and Necessities.

Their Practices upon the People were chiefly employ'd upon the Two Things, which of all Others they do the least understand, and the most furiously pursue, to wit, Religion and Liberty; wherein the Ministers were the Prime Instruments, and Alaham (in the words of the Excellent Lord Brook) was their Instructor.

Lord Brook,  
Alaham, Pa. 12.

Preach you with fiery tongue, distinguish Might;  
Tyrants from Kings, duies in question bring  
Toeke God and Man; where power infinite  
Compar'd, makes finite power a scornfull thing.  
Safely so craft may with the truth give light,  
To judge of Crowns without enamelling;  
And bring contempt upon the Monarchs State;

## Toleration Discus'd.

23

Where straight unhallowed power hath peoples hate.

Glaunce at Prerogatives Indefinite,

Tax Customs, Warrs, and Lawes all gathering;

Censure Kings fau'ts, their Spies, and Favourites,

Holiness hath a Priviledge to sting.

Men be not Wise; bitterness from zeal of spirit,

Is hardly Judg'd; the envy of a King

Makes People Like reproof of Majesty.

Where God seems great in Priests audacity —

And when mens minds thus tun'd, and tempted are

To change, with Arguments gainst present times,

Then Hope awakes, and man's Ambition climes.

This was the Artifice, by which the Faction skrew'd Themselves formerly into an Interest; but alas, what would the same Thing over again avail them now? when his Majestie ha's but to look behind him upon the sad Fate of his Royal Father, to secure Himself against all Possibility of Another Imposture. And for the Multitude, they must be worse than Brutes, in case of any New Attempt, ever to Engage against This King, upon any Man's Credit, that had his Hand in the Death of the Last; so that we are both Wiser and Surir at Present, than we were Twenty years agoe, upon a double Accomp; First, the Calamities of the Last Warr are still fresh in our Remembrance, and I do not find the People generally so sanctifid by their Experience, but they had rather lye still for their Real Profit, then Fight it over again for the Sound of Religion. Secondly, We are pre-acquainted with the most likely Instruments and Pretences of Raising any New Troubles.

As for the Unity ye boast of, 'tis very true; that the Non-conformists Agreed against the Publique, till they found it Impossible for them any longer to Agree among Themselves; And there's the Utmost of their Unity. Their Resolution indeed I cannot Deny but it comes up to That in th' Epigram, That, *He that Dares be Damn'd, Dares more than fight.* Scrup.

## 14 Toleration Discus'd.

Scrup. *Wee shall do our Cause an Injury to press too farr upon Reason of State in Matter of Religion.*

Conf. Indeed, I think you'll find it a hard Task, to make it out to any Man of Reason, that the Kingdom will be either the Better for *Granting* you a *Toleration*, or the Worse for *Refusing* it: but 'tis to be hop'd that your *Merits* will plead better for you then your *Politicks*.

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### SECT. V.

#### The Non-Conformists Plea for TOLERATION, from the Merits of the Party.

Conf. **W**Hat ha's your Party ( Gentlemen ) *Merited* from the Publique, that an Exception to a General Rule, should be Granted in Your Favour ? Name your services.

Ze. *Wee ventur'd All to save the Life of the Late King.*

Conf. And yet Ye ventur'd more to Take it away : for, Ye did but *Talk* for the *One*, and Ye *Fought* for the *Other*.

Ze. *We ever Abominated the Thought of Murthering him.*

Conf. You should have Abominated the Money too, for which Ye Sold him.

Scrup. *Did Wee sell him ?*

Conf. No, *You were the Purchasers.*

Ze. *Did not the Presbyterians Vote His Majesties Concessions a Ground for a Treaty ?*

Conf. Yes : but withall they held him up to Conditions worse than Death it self ; and, in short, They *Deliver'd* Him *up*, when they might have *Preserv'd* Him ; and they

*Stickled*

## Toleration Discus'd.

23

Stick'd for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

Ze. What Design could They have in That?

Conf. They might have the same Design in -48. which they had in -41. for ought that I know. To make a Party by't; and set up a *Presbyterian Interest* in the Kings Name.

Ze. All the World knowes, that we were so much afflicted for his Sacred Majesties Dittress, that we had many solemn Dayes of Humiliation for it.

Conf. So ye had for his Successes, for fear he should get the better of ye; and you had your Dayes of Thanksgiving too, for his Diftresses.

Ze. What do ye think of Preston-Fight? was That a Juggl' too?

Conf. I think ye should do well to let that Action sleep, for the Honour of the Kirk: for though the Cavaliers found it Great Earneſt, 'tis shrewdly suspected that there was foul play among the Brethren.

Ze. Pray'e let mee ask you One Question: Who Brought in This King?

Conf. They that would not suffer You to keep him out: That Party that by a Restleſs, and Inceſſant Loyalty, hinder'd your Eſtabliſhments.

Ze. And what do ye think of the Secluded Members?

Conf. I think, a New Choyce would have done the Kings busines every jot as well; and Matters were then at That pass, that One of the Two was unavoydable. In fine, 'tis allow'd at all hands, that the Prime Single Instrument of his Majestyes Restauration was the Duke of Albemarle. But if you come to Parties, the very Fact appears against ye: For, though all poſſible Industry was employ'd to make the Next Choyce totally Presbyterian, by Disabling all ſuch Persons, and their Sons, as (in effect) had ſerv'd the King ſince -41. without manifesting their Repentance for it ſince; Yet, ſo ſtrong was the General Vote of the People, for the Kings True Interest, and againſt All Factions, that All Endeavour was too little to

Leaven the next Convention; as was Design'd. If ye have no more to say for the *Merits* of your Party, wee'l pass on to the *Merits* of your *Cause*:  
 Ze. Do so, and wee'l give you the Hearing.

## S E C T. VI.

### The Non-conformists Plea for TOLE- RATION, from the Innocence of their Practices and Opinions.

Conf. Concerning the *Innocency* of your *Practices* and *Opinions*, must be our next Enquiry; and how farr your *Actions* and *Principles* Comport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and with the *Ends* of *Government*. If Authority find them *Regular* and *Modest*, it will be a fair Motive to his Majesty to Grant ye an *Indulgence*, upon so fair a *Presumption* that You will not *Abuse* it.

Ze. And we shall willingly cast our selves upon That Tryal.

Conf. Go to then. But I must Ask ye some untoward Questions by the way. What's your Opinion (Gentlemen) of the Warr Rais'd in --41, was it a *Rebellion*, or no?

Ze. 'Tis a Point we dare not Meddle with.

Conf. Nay, then you falter; for if you Thought it One, you'd *Answer* me; and if ye think it *None*, you'd think the same Thing, over again, to be none too. Suffice it, that in fact there was a Warr, and such a Warr as no Honest English Man can Reflect upon, but with Grief, Shame, Horror, and Indignation: Can ye tell me what was the *Ground* of the Quarrel?

Ze. I think you were in the Right your self, when ye said, it was Religion and Liberty.

Conf. I suppose, I shall not need to tell ye the Event  
of

of it ; But of which side were the *Tender Consciences*, For the King, or Against Him ?

Ze. We were ever for the King : Witness our Petitions, Declarations, and in a most Signal Manner, our Solemn League and Covenant.

Conf. Now I thought ye had been Against Him, because ye Seiz'd his Revenues, Levy'd a War, Hunted and Imprison'd his Person, and at last took away his Life. But the truth on't is, Ye were Both : Ye were For Him in Your Words, and Against Him in Your Actions.

Ze. There were many in Our Party That Lov'd the King as well as Any of You that were about Him.

Conf. That is, According to your Covenant : and I do not think but that your Party Loves This King just as they did the *Last*.

Scrup. I would his Majesty had no worse Enemies.

Conf. And I say, God send Him better Friends. You Love the Biskops too I hope, Do ye not ?

Scrup. Truly when they are out of their Fooleries, I have no Quarrel to the Men.

Ze. And to deal plainly, I am not yet Convinc'd of their Lordships Prerogative ; nor that there's Any Inherent Holiness in a Cope or a Surplice. But why do you Couple the Crown and the Miter so, as if no Man cou'd be a good Subject, that's Disaffected to Prelacy.

Conf. To be Free with ye, That's my Opinion, and I'm the wiffer in't, because I think you can hardly shew me, any One Non-Conformist, that upon a voluntary and clear Accompt ever struck Stroke For the King ; nor any true Son of the Episcopal Order of the Church, that ever bore Arms Against Him.

Ze. What will you forfeit if I skew you Hundreds ?

Conf. Either my Head, or the Cause, which you please.

Ze. What do you think of the Papists now, That is may be you and they are all One, and so you won't reckon them for Non-Conformists ?

Conf. To say the truth, we were All One in Loyalty to his Majesty, and to Your Eternal Reproach be it spoken,

E 2 That

*Einsv Bar.*  
P. 130.

[That the Papists should have a greater Sense of their Allegiance than many Protestant Professors]

Ze. Nay I believe a Machiavellian Jesuit shall ha' your good word, sooner then a Conscientious Puritan.

Conf. Truly no ; for a Presbyterian Papist, and a Presbyterian Puritan are Both alike to mee ; and I confess, I had rather be Preserv'd by a Man of Another Religion, than ha' my Throat cut by One of my Own. But, my Good Brother of the Consistory, no Slipping your Neck out of the Col ar : I was speaking of the *Non-Conformists* ; by which Term is properly meant, Such Persons as Refuse to Obey the Orders of the Church, whereof they Acknowledge Themselves to be Members ; so that the Point in Debate, has no Coherence at all with your Disgression. To Mind you of it, the Question's This : Whether or no the Practices of the *Non-Conformists* have been such, as may probably Dispose his Majesty towards the Granting of a Toleration. And now to hold you to the Question. [By Whom was the War in Scotland begun?] By the *Non-Conformists*.

Ze. By whom I beseech ye was the Rebellion in Ireland begun ?

*Einsv Bar.*  
P. 93.

Conf. By the Presbyterian Papists, but it was provok'd, and pre-dispos'd by the Presbyterian Puritans ; [So that, next to the Sin of those, who begun that Rebellion, Theirs must needs be, who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it, by Domestique Diffentions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels, to the most Desperate Resolutions and Actions, by threatening all Extremities, not only to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries ; but even to the whole Community,

munity of that Nation, Resolving to Destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children; without any regard to those usual pleas for Mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly Barbarous, are wont to bear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive Fears, rather than their Malice, Engag'd them; or whose Imbecillity for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left.] These are the Words of that Evangelical Prince, that Dy'd a Martyr for That Religion, and Liberty, which He was Calumniated to have Betray'd. By whom I beseech ye, was He Perfecuted, Divested of All his Regalities, Assaulted, Immur'd, Depos'd, and Murder'd, but By Your Party, Gentlemen? By whom, was Episcopacy Destroy'd, Root and Branch; the Law Trampled upon; Our Churches Prophan'd; Monarchy Subverted; the Free-born People of England Pillag'd, and Enslav'd; the Nation Engag'd in Bloud and Beggery; but by the Non-Conformists?

*Ze. Why do ye Charge those Exorbitancies upon the whole Party, that were the Crimes only of some Particular and Ambitious Men? Do you believe, That it should ever have gone so far, if we Two could have Hinder'd it?*

*Conf.* No, Indeed do I not; and I do believe that there were Thousands in the Party that Intended it as little as your selves. Now, Me thinks, This Experience should Deterre ye, from the Project you are at this Instant upon; Especially considering that you are upon the very Steps that led to the late Rebellion. The *Method*, was *Petitioning*; the *Argument*, was *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *Pretext, Religious Popery*, was the *Bug-bear*; and the *Magnitude*,

## Toleration Discus'd.

titude, were the *Umpires* of the *Controversie*. Nay, you have the very *same Persons* to Lead ye On ; and *They*, the very *same Matter* to work upon. Bethink your selves ; Ye *mean* no hurt (ye say) to the *last King*, and yet ye *Ruin'd* him : Ye may perchance *Intend* as little harm to *This King*, and yet do him as *much*. Not that the matter is in *Your Power* ; but I would not have it in *your Will*, and *Endeavour*. But enough is said touching the *Innocency* of your *Practices* : That of your *Opinions*, follows ; and I am Mistaken, if your *Principles* prove not Altogether as *Intolerable* as your *Practices* (by *Intolerable*, I mean, *Inconsistant with the Publicke Peace*)

*Ze.* Sure you'll send me to my Catechism again.

*Conf.* Nay, Marque me ; I will make it so clear to ye, that *You* your *Selves* shall Confess, that *Sedition* flows as *Naturally* from your *Ordinary*, and *Receiv'd Opinions*, as *Corrupt Waters* from a *Poyson'd Fountain* ; and not as an *Accident* neither, attendant upon Your *Separation*, but as a *firm'd and excitat'd Design*, wrapt up, and Coucht in the very *Mystery* of your *Profession*.

*Ze.* Wou'd you'd be pleas'd to unveil the *Mystery* you speak of.

*Conf.* In Obedience, I'll Endeavour it.

The most *Sacred* of All *Bonds*, is That of *Government*, next to That of *Religion* ; and the *Reverence* which we Owe to *Humane Authority*, is only Inferior to That which we Owe to *God Himself*. Yet, such is the *Deprav'd State* of *Nature*, that Every man is touch'd with an *Ambition* (more or les) to gain to *Himself* some share in the *Command* of the *Whole* : and from hence proceed Those Struglings of Particular Persons, which we so frequently meet with in Opposition to the General Lawes, and Ends of *Order* and *Society*. So soon as This Private *Humour* has *Emprov'd*, and *Ripen'd* it Self into a *Design*, the first Maxim which appears in favour of it, is This ; that *The Less Obligation* must give way to the *Greater* ; as (for Instance) *Reason of State* must give place to *Matter of Religion*,

ligion, and *Humane Laws* to the *Law Divine*: which being Duly Weigh'd, what has any man more to do in Order to the Embroyling of a Nation, but to perswade the People that This or that *Political Law* has no Foundation in the Word of God; to bid them *Stand fast in the Liberty where-* Gal. 5. 1. *with Christ has Made them Free*: and finally to Engage the Name of God, and the Voyce of Religion in the Quarrel?

Ze. And do not You your self believe it Better to Obey God then Man?

Conf. Yes, but I think it Best of All to Obey Both: to Obey God, for *Himself*, in *Spirituals*; and *Man* for God's sake in *Temporals*, as he is *God's Commissioner*. But let me Proceed. Are not you Convinc'd, that the most likely way in the world to stir up Subjects against their Prince, is to Proclaim the Iniquity of his *Laws*? to tell them (in Effect) that They'll be *Damn'd*, if they *Obey*; and (in a word) to make the *Rabble* Judges of their *Governours*?

Ze. Well, but what's This to Us, or Our Opinions?

Conf. I wish it were not; but to Couch the whole in a Little, Shew me, if you can, where ever your Opinions yet gain'd Footing in the world without *Violence*, and *Blood*: Shew me again, Any One *Sermon* or *Discourse* (Authoris'd by a *Non-conformist*) from 1640. to This Instant, that presses Obedience to the Magistrate, unless where the Faction was Uppermost; which shrew'dly intimates, that Your Principles are Inconsistent with your Duties, and that the very *Grounds* of Your Government are Destructive of any Other.

Ze. Make That appear if you can.

Conf. I will so, and I think we shall not need to travail out of his Majesty's Dominions to Prove it. Come, Zeal; You're of the *Classical* way; and You, *Scruple*, of the *Independent*; Produce Your Doctors; (but let them be the Pillars of your Cause) such Persons, as upon whose Judgment, and Integrity, You'll venture the Sum of the Dispute.

Ze. Soft and fair, I beseech ye; what is't you undertake to do?

Conf.

## Toleration Discus'd.

*Conf.* I do undertake to prove that the Opinions of the Non-conformists, (to say no worse) will very hardly admit a Toleration: and, Now, By whom will ye be Try'd?

*Ze.* What do ye think of Rutherford?

*Conf.* I suppose you mean the *Divinity-Professor* of St. Andrews. (John Goodwin, I remember, calls him, *The Chariot of Presbytery, and the Horsemen thereof*) In Truth you have pitch'd upon the *Atlas* of your Cause. But hear the *Rabbi* in his own words, [a] *The Power of the King is but Fiduciary*. [b] *The Sovereign Power is Eminently, Fon-talter, Originally, and Radically in the People*. [c] *The King is in Dignity Inferior to the People*. [d] *There is a Court of Necessity, no less than a Court of Justice, and th: Fundamental Laws must Then speak; and it is with the People, in This Extremity, as if they had no Ruler*.

*Ze.* Well: but Rutherford is but One man, I believe you'll find Gillespy of another Opinion.

*Conf.* Assure your Self, Friend Mine, they all sing the *e Gillespy P. 11. Engl. Pop. Cerem.* Same Song [e] [*Let not the Pretence of Peace and Unity cool your Fervour, or make you Spare to oppose your selves unto these Idle and Idolized Ceremonies, against which we Dispute*] For [f] *Whosoever you may omit that which Princes enjoy, without Violating the Law of Charity, you are not holden to Obey them, for the Majesty of Princely Authority*.

Are not These Sons of Zeal worthy of Encouragement, think ye? You'll say perhaps, *Gillespy* is but *One Man* neither. Coime, Come, I could shew ye Hundreds of Them; and if you'll but read *Spottswood's History of the Church of Scotland*, and his *Late Majesty's Large Declaration*, Printed in 1639. ye shall need go no further for satisfaction. To pass over the Desperate Opinions and Contrivances of Particulars; as *Willock, Knox, Melvil, Gibson, &c.* Let us look a little into their more Solemn Actions, and read the Temper of the Kirk in their General Assemblies.

*Kings Declar.  
P. 409.*

1. *An Assembly is Independant, either from King*

King or Parliament in Matters Ecclesiasti-  
cal.

2. An Assembly may Abrogate an Act of P. 41.  
Parliament, if it any way reflect upon the busi-  
nesses of the Church.

3. It is Lawful for Subjects to make a P. 409.  
Covenant and Combination without the King,  
and to enter into a Bond of Mutual De-  
fence against Him.

4. The Major part of the Kingdome (espe- P. 413.  
cially being met in a Representative Assem-  
bly) may do any thing which they take to be  
Conducing to the Glory of God, and to the  
Good of the Church; not only Without the  
Royal Authority, but Expressly Against it.

Were't not a Thousand Pitties now, to refuse This Ten-  
der Sort of Christians a Toleration?

Ze. Nay; In good truth, I never likt the Extreme Rigour  
of the Scottish Discipline.

Conf. And yet 'twas That you Leagu'd and Covenanted to  
make your Pattern; but where do you Expect to Mend  
your Self, under That Form of Government?

Ze. Truly, I take our English Divines of that Judgment to  
be very Pious, Moderate Persons.

Conf. Never a Barrel better Herring; That is, If they  
come once to Dip into the Controversie.

Ze. Do not you take Mr. ---- for a very sober well-weigh'd  
Person?

Conf. Take you the Measure of him, from his own  
Hand. [If a People bound by Oath shall Dispossess their Prince,  
and Chuse, and Covenant with Another; they may be Oblig'd  
by the Latter, notwithstanding their former Covenant.] The  
reali

## Toleration Discous'd.

real Sovereignty among us, was, in King, Lords and Commons, and if the King raise War against such a Parliament, in That Case, the King may not only be Resisted, but ceaseth to be a King. Hear now the File-leader of SMECTYMNHS.

**A Sacred Paragryick P. 23** [The Question in England, is whether Christ or Antichrist shall be Lord, or King: Go on therefore COURAGEOUSLY: Never can ye lay out your Bloud in such a Quarrel; Christ sted all his Bloud to save you from Hell, venture all yours to set Him upon his Throne. (That is to say, Down with Episcopacy, and Up with Presbytery) This is the Language of One of your Seraphique Doctors; and the Sermon both Preach'd by Command, and Printed by Order. Take notice of his Auditory too: No less then the Two Houses, General, Lord-Mayr, Assembly, and Scotch Commissioners, Jan. 18. 1643.

Scrup. You will not deny Mr. John Goodwyn (*I hope*) to be a Reverend Divine.

**D. fence of the Honourab'e Sentence passed upon the late King. Pa. 90.** Conf. At the Rate of Your Divinity, indeed I cannot de-

ny it, Touching the Righteousness of the Sentence passed upon the King; Doubtless (says he) never was there any Person under Heaven Sentenc'd with Death upon more Equitable, and just Grounds, in respect of Guilt and Demerit. Mr. Jenkins is of the same opinion, and so is Parker, Milton; and, in fine, the whole Tribe of Medling Non-conformists are of the same Leven. Now, to shew ye that This Agreement comes not by Chance, you are to observe, that whatsoever is first Expos'd and Blown abroad (by the Hirelings of the Faction) from the Press, and Pulpit, is still Seconded (at least, if the People Relish it) with the Approbation of the Counsel: so that the main use of Sermons, and Pamphlets, is only to dispose the Multitude for Votes, and Ordinances. If you doubt This; do but Compare the Doctrines of the One, with the Practices of the Other; and you must be Blind, not to discern that they act by Consent, and Intelligence. In case of False-worship (says the Pulpit) and (says the Press) In case of Tyranny, Defensive Arms are Lawful. If the People Swallow This; the next news ye hear, is a Vote for putting that Position in Practice. Resolved upon the Question

## Toleration Discuss'd.

35

*sion, that the King (Seduced by wicked Counsel) intendt  
to make War, &c. [May 20. 1642.] Resolved upon the Ex. Coll. Pa.  
Question, that an Army shall be f:r:hwit Raifed, &c. [July 157.]*

12. 1642.

*Ze. Will ye make the Parliament then, and the Synod,  
Confederate with the Rabble?*

*Conf. Tush, Tush; Turbam, tam Chlamydatos, quam Co-  
ronam voco. I speak of a Faction, not of an Authority; I  
do not meddle with Parliaments: Yet since you have such  
a Kindness for the very Names These People Acted un-  
der, Let me Offer ye a Word or two to Consider upon,  
touching That Thing, which you call a Synod. First,*

*The men were neither Legally Conven'd, nor <sup>Eliav Bar.</sup>  
did They Act in the Name of all the Clerg<sup>Pa. 183.</sup>*

*gy of England: So that no Matter what They Did,  
as to the Validity of any thing They could pretend to do.  
Secondly, What was Their Employment, but to Advise  
upon the Cleanliest way of Shifting the Government, and  
to do as much for the Biskops, as the House did for his  
Majest<sup>y</sup>? Will ye have the Truth on't? They clear'd  
their Conscience abundantly to Both. First; in Their Letter  
to Reformed Churches Abroad, They Charge the King  
as the Patron of the Irish Rebellion [Pa. 7.] and, in short,  
throughout the whole Tenor of it as the most Insupportable  
Tyrant in Nature. Secondly, Let That (not only Unchristian  
but Inhumane) Collection of White's Scandalous Mi-  
nisters bear Witness Against Them. Wherein, without any  
Respect either to Truth, or Modesty, They have Expos'd  
so Many Reverend Names to Infamy, and Dishonour, for  
the better Colour of Their own Wickednes in Robbing  
them of their Livings.*

I have here laid before you, the Merits, Practices, and  
Opinions of the Party you plead for. If I have told ye  
Truth, Think on't; if otherwise, Disprove it.

*Ze. I will not Deny, but Ill things have been don: Shall  
All therefore be Condemn'd, for the Faults of Some?*

*Conf. And I will not deny neither, but there are Good*

## Toleration Discus'd.

people in the mixture; shall All therefore be *Indulg'd* for the *Honesty* of *some*? Try your skill, my Masters; and if You can contrive such an Expedient, as may Relieve *Particulars*, without Hazzard, or Dammage to the *Whole*, ye shall have my Vote for such a *Toleration*. But before ye propound it, give me leave to offer ye such other Reasons of my Own, Against it, as have not been yet touch'd upon, and then you are at Liberty to speak to All at Once.

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### S E C T. VII.

#### TOLERATION, causes Confusion both in Church and State.

*Conf.* Gentlemen, To come quick to the Busines; My Exceptions to your Proposal of *Toleration*, shall be Reduc'd to *Four Heads*: My *First* Exception arises from the very Nature of the Thing it self; My *Second*, from this *Juncture of Time* wherein it is Desired; My *Third*, from the Consideration of the *Partyes* that Delire it; and My *Last* Exception, proceeds from the Reverence I bear to the *Authority* that is to Grant it. Now, if You please, Wee'l begin with the *First*, and pass to the Rest in Order.

My First Argument against *Toleration*, is This: It is (in those that pres' it) a *Tacit Condemnation of an Establish Law*, and not without some Reflection upon the Supreme Authority it self. If there was Reason for the Making of it, There is yet More for the Observing of it; by how much an *Universal Obedience* is more Profitable to the Publicke, than any Particular Constitution.

*Scrup.* It would be well, If you would bring all People to the same Mind, before ye force them to the same Rule.

*Conf.* But it would be Ill if you should admit of no Rule

## Toleration Discus'd.

37

Rule at all, till you had found out One, that all the world should be pleas'd with.

Scrup. *We do not ask the Vacating of a Law, but the Relaxing of it.*

Conf. Why then, You ask a Worse Thing; for it were Much better for the Publique, utterly to vacate a Good Law, then to suffer the Withdrawing of that Reverence which is due even to a Bad one. If the *Reason* of such or such a Law be gone, *Repeal the Law*; but to let the *Obligation fall*, and the *Law Stand*, is, not only to Introduce, but to Proclaim a Disorder in the Government. The *Law*, in fine, is, an *Act of Publique, and Impartial Justice*, not made for This, or That Particular, but for a Common Good.

My Second Exception to *Toleration*, is, Because it Implies a kind of *Affsent* (let me not say *Submission*) both to the *Equity* of the *Subjects Complaint*, and to the *Reason* of the *Tolerated Opinion*, which, in some Degree, seems to *Authorise a Separation*. Now let it be once admitted, that any *One Law* may be *Question'd* by the *Multitude*; the Consequence reaches to all the *Rest*: Let it be admitted, either, that any *One sort of People* may be allowed to challenge any *One Law*, All other Opinions have the same Right of *Compleyning*.

Scrup. *But we do not question either the Prudence of the Law-makers, or the General Equity of the Constitution; only where God has not given us Consciences suitable to the Rule, we do humbly begg of his Majesty to bestow upon us a Rule that may comply with our Consciences.*

Conf. Would you have a Law made that shall comply with *All Consciences*? Ye demand an Impossibility. God Himself never made a Law that pleased all people. Oh! but the *Imposition under a Penalty* troubles ye. Take away the *Sanction*, and what signifies the *Law*? Well, but You would be exempt I perceive from the general Obligation; so would every man else, and then there's no Law at all: In short, Ye cannot say what ye would have. Would ye have a particular Indulgence? Where's the

## Toleration Discus'd.

Equity of it as to Those that are Excluded? Will ye have it Generall? Where's the Conscience of it, when all Heresies are entertain'd. You should consider, that Lawes are fram'd with a regard to the Community; and they ought to stand Firm and Inexorable: If once they come to hearken to Particular Clamours, and to side with Particular Interests, the Reverence of Government is shaken.

*Ze.* You have speculated here some *Ary Inconveniences*; but where's the Real hazard of receding from that Inexorable strictness? (*as you call it.*)

*Conf.* First, the Magistrate makes himself of a Party with Those that he Tolerates, against Those that he Rejects, which drawes an envy upon the Government.

Secondly, The Tolerated Party becomes a Sanctuary for all the seditious Persons in the Kingdom. It was well said of one (whom I esteem more for his *Wit* than his *Honesty*) speaking of a Thin House of Commons; *It looks* (says he) *like a Parish Church that borders upon a Conventicle.* And the very Truth of it is, *A Schismatical Lecturer*, is as bad as a *Rosited Dogg* in a *Dove-house*, he tolls away all the Pigeons i'th Countrey. Not that the People throng to him for the Excellency of the *Man*, or of the *Way*, but they Meet to Proclaim Themselves Masters of the Law, and to count how many Thousand souls there are, even in this sinfull Nation, that will not *bow the Knee to Baal*. Let them go on, and within a while, the King perhaps shall sue to *Them*, for the same Toleration They now begg from *Him*, and go without it; that is, unless His Majesty has better luck then his Father (which God send him, for he has several of the very same Persons to deal withall.)

Another Objection may be This; If there be any Reason for *Granting* a Toleration, 'tis Probable the Reason will be stronger for *Continuing* it; so that, in Time, the People shall Challenge That as a *Right*, which They now only Demand as a *Favour*; and the next Motion is into a *Popular Reformation*. Let me add to what I have said, that a Toleration does not only Evirtuate the Law, but it naturally

## Toleration Discus'd.

39

rally produces a total Dissolution of Ecclesiastical Order, and consequently begets a Confusion both in Church and State.

Ze. You speak as if there were no such thing as a Toleration in Nature.

Conf. Of that in place convenient.

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### S E C T. V III.

#### The Danger of TOLERATION in this Juncture.

Conf. I Need not tell ye (Gentlemen) that I am no great friend to Toleration at *Any* time : but I must confess to ye, that at *This* time I like it worse then I have done at any *Other*.

Scrup. When, to *My thinking*, there never was more need of it, nor more *Hope of the Fruit* of it, then is at this Instant. Are not the People ready to *Tumult* for want of it?

Conf. Indeed a very proper Reason why they should have it, that they may be encouraged to *Tumult again*, for what they have a mind to *Next*. How long do you believe that Government would stand, where the *Magnitude* should take notice that their Rulers are afraid of them? Are they ready to *Tumult*? then they are not *Conscientious*; and if it be not *conscience* that moves them, 'tis *Sedition*.

Scrup. I'm very confident, An Indulgence would *Quiet* them.

Conf. Can you remember the steps of the last Warr, and be of that Opinion? What was it but *That* which was given to *Quiet* the Faction that enabled them to take All the *Rest*? To give you a fresh Instance; What could be more *Pious, Gracious, or Obliging*, then his Majesties Late

*Declar-*

## Toleration Discus'd.

*Declaration*, in Favour of the *Non-conformists*? All that was possible for the King to doe, in consistence with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his Dominions, his Majesty has there frankly assur'd them of: and what's the effect of all? Are they one jot the *Quieter* for't? No, but the worse; for no sooner was his Majesties Tenderness (in That Particular) made Publicke, but the generality (even of Those that had lately entred into a Regular and Dutifull complyance with the Orders of the Church) started into a new Revolt; which Demonstrates, that the true ground of their *Separation* is not *Conscience*, but *Faction*, and proves sufficiently the *benefit*, and *necessity*, of a *strict Rule*, and the *hazard* of a *Relaxation*: For you see, that rather then abide the *Penalty* of the *Act*, they could *Conform*; but upon the least Glimpse of an *Indu'gence*, they Relapse into a *Schism*.

Come, Brother Zeal; Your Friend of ——— shall pin the Basket. That Sermon of his that you wore of, (at least if *His* it be, and several Impressions of it have pass'd as *His*, without any Contradiction) That Sermon do I take to be one of the Lewdest Requitals of the Kings Mercy and Goodnes that ever ——— But no more, *Hee's a Son of the Kirk*.

Take him First, as a Person whom his Majesty has Pardon'd, although a *Leading*, and *Pragmatical Instrument* toward the Ruine of his *Royal Father*. Consider him *Secondly*, as one that has been taken nibbling at Sedition, since his Majesty's Return before now, and yet been wink'd at. *Thirdly*, take notice of the very point of Time he has chosen for his purpose. His *Contempt* meets the Kings *Mercy* just in the *Face*, and his Majesty's Arms are no sooner open to receive him, then he takes that very nick of Opportunity to stabb him in.

*Ze. And all This Amplifying, and Passion, for Preaching, forsooth, without a Licence.*

*Conf.* The least thing in my thought, I assure ye; for I speak to the Dangerous Scope and Application of his Ser-

## Toleration Discus'd.

41

Sermon, without any concern at all whether he did Well, or Ill, as to the Act of Uniformity.

Ze. I will not justify his Prudence, but in my Conscience the man never meant any hurt, either to this King, or to his Father, I should abhorre him, if I thought he did.

Conf. Wee'll handle that Point at Leisure: But to bring what we are now upon, to a Period. I look upon Mr. Calamy as the Mouth of the Party, and ye see with what a seditious Confidence they own his Actions, and avow his Disobedience: So that from Mr. Calamy's single Oath, we are to take the Measure of the ~~Major~~ Question: And now I ask ye; Whether, or no, do you hold it convenient to dispense with a Law, in favour of That Party, which at the same time both Challenges, and Despises That Law, and Despises that Mercy?

Ze. When you have made out the Fact, as you have layd it, I'll tell ye my Opinion.

Conf. Again, we are perpetually Alarm'd with Plotts, ye see; Now what better means then a Toleration, to draw the Conspirators into a Body? In Truth; to gratifie a Party that thus outfaces Authority, and to do it too in the very Crisis of the Contest, is a Policy that I can't reach the Bottom of. This Thred might be drawn finer; but I have something to say concerning the Party, as well as the Time.

G Siz.

## Sect. IX.

*Arguments against TOLERATION,  
in respect of the Party that desires it; with,  
Animadversions upon a certain Pamphlet,  
Entituled, A SERMON Preached at  
ALDERMANBURY-CHURCH,  
Decemb. 28. 1662. &c.*

Conf. WE are now entring into a Large Field, Gentlemen, and that we may not lose our selves, Let us move orderly toward the Question. Your Party desires a Toleration, is't not so?

Scrup. It is so.

Conf. And what is Your Party, I beseech ye? Where do they Dwell? What are their Names? Their Opinions, &c. --- For to Tolerate, No body knowes Whom, or What, would be a little with the Larget, I think; would it not?

Scrup. Truly I think it would. But to Answer your quicke Question; Our Party is a certain number of Godly and Conscientious men, that desire a Freedom to Worship God in their own way.

Conf. But now You must tell me Your Way too.

Scrup. Our Way must be such a Way as is agreeable to Gods Word.

Conf. Do ye mean, that it must be expressly mark'd out, and commanded There; or will it serve the Turn, if it be only not Prohibited?

Zc. God forbids, that any sober Christian should imagine that our Saviour left his Church without a Rule, and certainly the Lord's Discipline is the best Pattern, so that we are to stick to the Ordinance of Jesus Christ, without Adding or Diminishing.

Conf.

## Toleration Discus'd.

43

Conf. *Scraple*, What say You to This? for if it be so, there is but *One way of Worshipping, Lawfull*; and consequently, but *One way Tolerable*.

Scrup. *In Truth, I am content to venture My Soul among Those that serve the Lord according to the Light that he has given them.*

Conf. So that I perceive 'tis utterly Impossible to please ye Both; for *You* are for *several wayes*, and your Brother *Zeal* but for *One*. How comes it now that *You Two*, that can never Agree betwixt your selves, should yet Joyn in a Petition against *Us*?

Scrup. *We Agree in This, that neither of us would be Limited.*

Conf. Do not You find your self Foul now upon the Old Rock of *Universal Toleration* again? I would, You'd be but so honest Once, as to Yield, when Y'are Convinc'd. Can you either name Those Opinions, which you would have Indulg'd; or can you Expect a Toleration for all Opinions at a venture?

Scrup. *Provided they be not contrary to Gods Word.*

Conf. But who shall be *Judg of That*? If each *Individual*, You must admit Right and Wrong, promiscuously, for no man will condemn himself; If *Authority*, You are concluded by an *Ecclesiastical Law*. Have a Care now of your old Distinction of *Fundamentals*, and *Non-fundamentals*, for then your very foundation fails ye, and ye renounce the most plausible part of your Plea, to wit, your Title of Conscience. A word now to your Brother.

You are for the *Holy Discipline, Zeal*; for *That way, and for no Other.*

Ze. *We are for That way which is prescrib'd in the Word.*

Conf. Of which way, either the *People* or the *Governours* must be the Judges. If you say the *People*, the *Independent* has the Better of ye; if the *Governours*, you must submit to the Resolutions of the *Church*: In fine, If ye cannot say what ye would have, never Complain that ye cannot Obtain what ye Ask; and That's my first Reason  
G 2 1000 against

## Toleration Discus'd.

The Non-conformists would have them know not what. In which, Particular Experience bears witness against them : For, what have they done since -41, but Overturn'd the Government, Divided the Spoyl, Enrich'd Themselves, Embroyld every thing, and settled nothing? And yet my Masters there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder ye.

*Ze. You cannot imagine sure that all these Huzli-burlyes and Confusions, were Design'd.*

*Conf. Not All perhaps, for I believe ye thought to do your Business with less Trouble ; But that the subversion of the Government was Design'd is plain, and certain ; and truly that it is now Design'd over again, is scarce less Evident : Upon which special consideration, I ground my Second Exception.*

*Scrup. But That would be hard, to ruine so many People of God for an Uncharitable surmisse.*

*Conf. Go to Scruple ; If That be not the Scope of your Monstrous Earneftness for a Toleration, pray'e tell me what is ? If ye have no end at all in't, 'tis Frivolous ; if This be your end, 'tis Impious ; if ye have any other End, make it appear.*

*Scrup. Twill satisfie our Consciences.*

*Conf. Heaven and Earth shall be sooner brought together than your Two Consciences ; will the Establishment of Presbytery satisfie your Conscience, or the Allowance of Liberty satisfie your Brothers ? If it be the Uniformity ye Dislike ; How come ye to Joyn with the Directory, against the Common-prayer ; with That of the Assembly, against That of the Church ? In short, Your Disagreements among your selves, are almost as Notorious as your Conjunction Against us, and ye have given Proof to the World, that it is not possible for any thing Else to Unite you, but a Common Booty ; Witnes the Contentious Papers and Disputes, betwixt Calamy, and Burton, Edwards, and Goodwin, and Others, not to be Number'd, concerning the very Point of Toleration. [The desires of the Independents for a Toleration (say the London-Ministers) are unreasonable,*

## Toleration Discus'd.

43

and unequal, and many Mischiefs will follow upon't both to Church and Common-wealth. ] Now on the other side, hear what Sterry sayes, [Lord thou hast done Graciously, and Won- derfully, in saving us from the Bloudy Design of the Egyptian Papacy : But this last Mercy by which thou hast sav'd us from the Black Plotts, and Bloody Powers of the Northern Presbytery, has Excell'd them All. ] Rutherford tells ye that [Such Opinions and Practices, as make an evident Schisme in a Church, and set up two Distinct Churches, of different Firms, and Government, &c. cannot be Tolerated,] Milton again, will have the Presbyterians to be [Ministers of Se- dition, not Ministers of the Gospel,] With what face now can those People appear to claim a Toleration from the Publicke, whose Principles are so croſs, that they cannot afford it One to Another?

Scrup. Well, but supposing these unhappy Clashings among Themselves, how does that prove them in Confederacy against the Publicke ?

Conf. Their very Agreement against the Government, and in nothing else, makes it evident enough : but if You'd have it clearer, Look thorough their Proceedings.

In a Petition that accompanied their black Remonstrance of Dec. 15. -- 41. You may find the Points chiefly insisted upon to be These. *The Honour of the King, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject; The Moderating of the Bishops Power; and the Removal of some Unnecessary Ceremonies, for the Ease of Tender Consciences:* Nay, so far Remonstr. were they from any Purpose or Desire, to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline and Government in the Church, that they held it Requisite to Maintain a Conformity throughout the Kingdom, to that Order, which the Lawes Enjoin'd ; and took it very unkindly that the Malignant Party should Infuse into the People, that they meant to Abolish all Church-Government ; and leave every man to his own Fancy, for the Service and Worship of God, Absolving him of that Obedience which he Owes under God unto his Majesty, Whom THEY KNEW TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAW, AS WELL AS WITH THE TEMPORAL,

Engl. Deliv.  
Pa. 7.

Fresh Disput.  
Pa. 98.

Tenure of Kings  
Pa. 36.

Ex. Coll.  
Pa. 19.

## Toleration Discuss'd.

Ibid.

*PORAL, &c.*---- They confess indeed their intention of Reducing within Bounds that Exorbitant Power which the Prelates had Assum'd unto Themselves so contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Laws of the Land. To which end they pass'd the Bill for Removing them from their Temporal Power and Employments, that so the better they might with Meekness apply Themselves to the discharge of their Functions. Will ye now see the Correspondence betwixt these Gentlemen's Words, and their Actions? and First concerning the Honour of the King; wherein This word shall suffice, that they omitted Nothing, in order to the destroying both of his Soul, Body, and Reputation, which either Craft, Violence, or Calumny could Contribute, and not to Rob either of the Two Factions of their deserved Fame, and Interest, in the Ruine of that Glorious Prince. I shall conclude with Parkers decision of the Case, The Presbyterians pass'd the Sentence of Condemnation, and the Independents executed it.

The False Brether.

Z. I shall not pretend to Justifie all their Actions; but in truth my Charity persuades me, that a great part of the Mischief they did, proceeded rather from Necessity then Inclination.

Conf. Will yee see then what they did afterward when they were at Liberty to do what they Listed?

They had no sooner Murther'd the Father, but immediately [a] They made it Death to Proclaime the Son. [b] They Abolish't Kingly Government. [c] Sold the Crown Lands. Pag. 3. [d] Declar'd it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the Commons. [b] Pag. 7. [e] Null'd all Honours and Titles granted by the King since 41. [c] Pag. 51. [f] Made Scotland one Common-wealth with England, [d] Pag. 65. [e] Pag. 178. &c. [e] Pag. 178. &c.

[f] Pag. 293. Have they now kept any better Touch with the Liberty and Property of the Subject? Let their Proceedings witness for them, [a] As their Tax upon the Fifth and Twentieth Part. [b] Excise upon Flesh, Victuals, and Salt. [c] A new Excise upon Alom, Copperas, Monmouth-Caps, Hoppes; [b] Pag. 60. [d] Pag. 75. Saffron, Starch, &c. [d] A Loane of 66661. 13 s. 4 d. for [c] Pag. 73. [e] Pag. 128. supply of the Scots. [e] An Assessment for the Maintenance [f] Pag. 8. of the Army. [f] The House of Peeres Abolish't, and a Monthly Part 2.

Tax

## Toleration Discus'd.

27

Tax of 90000 l. for the Army. [g] *A Monthly Tax of [g]* Pag. 149.  
120000 l. [h] *An Imposition upon Coal.* [i] *A Monthly [h]* Pag. 153.  
*Affessment of 60000 l.* Not to Clogge the Discourse with  
overmany Particulars: Wee'll see Next, What they have  
done toward the Moderating of the Power of Bishops, and  
the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremonies?

[k] *The Archbishop of Canterbury Suspended, and his Temporalities Sequestred.* [l] *Monuments of Superstition Demolish'd* [l] Pag. 53.  
(that is in Short an Ordinance for Sacrifedge) [m] *The Book of Common Prayer laid aside, and the Directory commanded in stead of it.* [n] *Archbishops and Bishops Abolish't, and their Lands settled in Trustees.* [o] *Their Lands Expos'd to Sale.* [o] Pag. 101.  
[p] *Festivals Abolish't.* [q] *Deans and Chapters &c. Abolish't,* [p] Pag. 128.  
*And their Lands to be Sold.* This is your way, my Masters, [q] Part. 2.  
of Moderating the Power of Bishops, and of removing unnecessary Ceremonies; and at the same Rate you have provided for Tender Consciences, witness Your Penalties [r] for *Using the Book of Common Prayer, and your Forfeitures* [r] Part. 1.  
for not *Using the Directory.* [r] Pag. 97. *Ibid.*

Zeal. Conformity; You should Do better, not to Rip up these Old Stories again.

Conf. And if you would not hear of Them again, you should Leave Doing Them again.

Zeal. Then it seems the whole Number must suffer for the Misdemeanours of Particulars.

Conf. No; nor the whole Party scape because of some Particulars neither. Would you ha' me open my Door to a Troop of Thieves, because two or three of my honest Friends are in the Company? And That's the Case. Besides: You must permit me to distinguish betwixt Particulars and the Party; for the Party of Non-conformists, are in a Direct Confederacy against the Law; whereas there may be divers Particulars, that are mov'd only upon a Principle of Conscience. And those that are truly Conscientious, will be known by This; Their'll endeavour their own Satisfaction without any Importunities upon the Publique: for when they come once to joyn in a Complaint against the Law, 'tis no longer Conscience, but Faction. And the

## Toleration Discus'd.

the Question is not Here, concerning the Integrity of certain *Individuals*, but how far a Toleration belongs to the *Party*, without any consideration of Persons.

Zea. Let us suppose then that the Party may have done amiss; I hope 'tis no Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Conf. Truly, with Reverence to *Charity*, I take it to be next a-kin to't, in very many of them. For, First; They sinn'd against an Evident *Light*, as appears from their several doublings, and contradictory Proceedings. Next, There was a *Malice*, Notorious; only I hope it went no further than God's *Viceroy*. But I'le comply with the utmost of your Argument: You would have Those Indulg'd that *Repent*. With all my heart, if That will Content ye. For still upon That Condition, *not a Soul must be admitted that Refuses to Abjure the Covenant*: and There lies the very Pinch of the Question. For what the Covenant meant, every body knows, from the express *Practice*, and *Explication* of Them that made it. *The League and Covenant* (says Rutherford) was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party in England. And They that Impos'd it, Voted it Death for any man, having taken it, to serve his Majesty: So that whosoever Refuses to Difown the Covenant, must be Rationally supposed still to pursue the Ends of it. Which Ends are, *The Subjection of the Royal Authority to the Conclave of the Kirk*, and (in Terminis) the *Abolition of Episcopacy*; (which his Majesty has Solemly vow'd, and Resolv'd to Preserve). From whence it arises undeniably, that, to Tolerate the Non-conformists that still adhere to the Covenant, is to Tolerate the Sworn Enemies both of Royal, and Episcopal Authority, and of the Peace of the Nation: and in fine, to Tolerate Those that have sworn to persist in that Opposition all the daies of their lives.

The Kirk's  
Testimony a-  
gainst Tolera-  
tion. Pag. 10.

From what is already said, it appears, First, That the Non-conformists are not yet Agreed what they would have, and I dare engage my self to be his Slave that clears the Proposition, farther, then that they would have This Government unsettled, and they know not what in the Place

## Toleration Discussed

487

Place on't. *Secondly*, It is manifest, that Impossible it is to Pleaue them any longer, then while they are united in a Common Design upon us : for next to Publique Order, they are the deadlieft Enemies ~~one to another~~, as being Govern'd by *Inconfident Principles*. *Thirdly*, It is past Dilligne, that by virtue of That Favour which they now Aske, and under colour of Those Preferences which they now hold forth, They have render'd Themselves the Instruments of all our Late Miseries, and the Masters of the Three Kingdome's. *Fourthly*, It is not more Plain what they *have* done, then what they are now *about* to do ; And, that they have the same Design upon the *Publique*, at this instant, which they had in 41, is past all Controversie.

Zea. Conformity, You ouer-ran the Confable, ~~now~~ you pretend to enter into Mens Thoughts ?

Conf. No, I will not ; but If I should see a man throwing Wild-fire into a Magazine, and He tells me that he does it to arm his Fingers ; would not you take me for an Ass, if I should Believe him ? No, no, my fair Friends. When ye see a Wise man, Frequently, and Deliberately, doing things that manifestly lead to ~~Conformity~~, I think a very good Christian may suspect that Wise man's Honesty.

Zea. Come; no more of your High-flown Nations, or ~~and such~~ in good honest Englisht : Where's the Wild-fire, and the Magazine that you woud give us so learnedly to understand ?

Conf. Where is it, Not rather ; to any man that will but look about him, without winking ? Is not That Sermon think ye that you sent me last Night a pretty Squib ro cast into a populous Town, that's Preach'd half to Gun-powder already ?

Zea. And yet ye said E'en now, There was no danger.

Conf. I say the same Thing still ; that is, without a Consideration.

Zea. But where's the Mischief of That Sermon I beseech ye ?

Conf. The Book lies there upon the Table, and it is Marqu'd to your Hand ; but I'm not ready for e yet ; if To the best of my knowledge, you

## Toleration Discussed.

you please, we'll look it over by and by; and speak a word in the meantime to the *Jus Talionis*, to the *Do as you would be done by* of the Matter.

You would be Tolerated by That Government, which of all Others, you your Selves refus'd to Tolerate; Stick now to your own Rule, and tell me, With what Face can ye Demand a Toleration, or for what Sort of People? Begin with your Clergy; would you have Them Indulg'd?

*Zea. Yes, as They are Ministers of Gods Word, They ought to be Indulg'd.*

*Conf.* That can be no Plea for Them that persecuted Gods Ministers Themselves. Charity indeed is a General Duty; but it is an Argument that belongs only to Them that Practise it; For, *They that never Spar'd Any, cannot reasonably desire to be Spar'd Themselves.*

They are in the second place hot to be Tolerated; upon the point of *Scandalab.*: For, [Such are Doctor'd scandalous, as by Writing, Preaching, or otherwise, publish their Disaffection to the present Government] Tis their own Law, Gentlemen; and upon that score of Disaffection, was Introducing the most Barbarous Persecution of a *Gospel-Ministry*, that ever was heard of among Christians. I could Instance the Particulars of the Havock They made in London, the Two Universities, and finally throughout the Kingdom. Particularly, in South-Wales; where They did not only Persecute The Ministry, but the very *Gospel*, by Shutting up their Churches, and Condemning the People to the Distresses and Corruptions of unbriid'l'd Nature. Nor was it enough to *Sequester*, unless They *Starv'd* Them too; For They were not permitted, to live either as School-masters or Chaplains, but upon severe Penalties: a Committee of Middlesex indeed, told Mr. Lance (a Reverend, and a Sequester'd Minister) that *He might Hedge and Ditch for his Living* (and that was the utmost of the Liberty They could Afford Them.) I could tell ye of the Ministers that were Poyson'd in Peter-House, &c. but I shall make ye sick, and weary; *Abraham I hope ye are already, to Plead for a Toleration of Those People against*

## Toleration Discusſion.

51

against the Law, that were Thus Merciless toward their Brethren that Acted and Suffer'd for it. But to Seal up all with an Authority : Gillespy tells ye, that [The General Assembly hath ordain'd, that known Compliers with the Rebells, and such as did procure Protection from the Enemy, or keep Correspondence and Intelligence with them, shall be suspended from the Lord's Supper, till they manifest their Repentance before the Congregation] So that ye see we were not only Debar'd the Common Rights of Subjects, and Benefits of Society ; but the very Comforters of our Religion were taken from us, and an *Anathema* pronounc'd upon us for our Loyalty ; and yet these People think it high Reason to be Tolerated Themselfes, and have the Confidence to Importune it from his most Sacred Majesty, to whose Blessed Father (and That in the Depth, and Bitterness of his Agonies) They cruelly Deny'd the Use, and Service of his own Chaplains. [A greater Rigour, and Bar-  
barity then is ever us'd by Christians to the  
meanest Prisoners and Greatest Malefactors]  
But (continues that Pious Prince) [They that Envyy  
My being a King, are lath I should be a  
Christian ; while they seek to Deprive Me of  
all things else ; They are afraid I should save  
My Soul.] Ibid. P. 207.

A word now to the Obligations we have to your Civil Authorities, as to the Freedome of our Persons and Estates. Visit but your own *Acts*, and be your own Judges, (but take the Crime along with ye ; *Obedience to God, to the King, and to the Law*) Not to Enumerate your Particular, and Personal Outrages, as the Clapping of so many Honourable Persons abord, and Designing Them for Slaves, because They would not Rebel ; the Barbarous Treatment of betwixt Three and Fourscore Worthy and Loyal Gen-

## Toleracion Disenſed

lement in the Baſiness of Saſbury, that were Shipp'd away and Sold (by AN HONEST MAN) to the Barbares. Nor to Inſlit upon it, how many Honourable Perſons have been Smother'd, and Starv'd in Gaoles; how much Noble Bloud hath been Spilt both in the Field, and upon the Scaffold, &c. — I shall rather Confin me ſelf to ſome few of your General Proviſions for ſecuring the Royal Party, and for the Extirpation both of that Line, and Government, to which Providence has now again Subjected ye: which (to run over them in ſhort) shall be

- [a] Scob. Act. These [a] An Ordinance for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates. [b] Delinquents Disabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any Major, &c. Here's Estate, and Legal P. 37.
- [b] Pa. 135. Freedome, gone already: Now follows Banishment from [c] Part. 2. One Place, and Confinement to Another. [c] Delin- P. 104. quents muſt be Remov'd from London and Weltminster, [d] Pa. 175. and Confin'd within four Miles of their own Dwelling. [d] Cor- reſpondency with Charles Stuart or his Party Prohibited un- der Pain of High Treafon] and [e] Death to any Man that shall Attempt the Revival of his Claim, or that ſhall be Aiding, Assisting, Conforting, or Abetting unto any Person Endeavouring to Set up the Title of Any of the Issue of the Late King. These were the Conditions of Your Patriots, Gentlemen, and the Tryal of Our Faſhion.
- [e] Pa. 372.

If ye are not yet Convinc'd pray'e tell me, What was the Reason, that throughout the whole Couafe of your Power, ye Treated the Episcopal Party ſtill worse then all the Reft?

Ze. Because They were the Moft likely of all Others to Difturb our Settlement.

Conf. Very Good, and what do ye think as to Matter of Conſcience? Did ye do well, or ill in't? or rather, Was there any thing of Conſcience in the Caſe?

Ze. Truly I wish much of the Severity had been Abated; but Certainly, it was very fit for the Civil Power to ſecute the Peace of the Nation; ſo was the Power Ecclesiatical no leſs concern'd to exalt a Conformity to the Lawes and Ordinances of Chrift, which he had in mind to do.

## Toleration Discus'd.

53

Conf. Can you say This, and not blush to Deny the Force of your own Argument? If ye did well in refusing to Tolerate the *Episcopal Way*, because ye thought it not Right; the Reason is as strong on the Other Side, that have the same opinion Concerning Yours. If ye did well o'th' Other Side, out of a Political Regard to the *Publique Peace*, the same Reason lies as strong against ye That Way too: so that you must either Confess, that you did Ill Then, in Refusing a Toleration to *Us*, or allow that Authority does Well Now, in not permitting it to *Yos*. Do not mistake me. I am as much as any man (to borrow his Sacred Ma-jesty's words) for [*Those that cannot Conform, through Scruple, and Tenderness of misguided Conscience: and for Dissenters that Demean Themselves Peaceably and Modestly under the Government.* And That shall appear by and by, when we come to handle That Question.

Zeal. We're Agreed then, if That be your Opinion: and praye lei's forward to my Friends Sermon now. (A Person whom I take to be within the Limit of your Profess'd Kindness.)  
Conf. A Match; and if you please, I'll Glosse upon him to you.

Lo: Eli sate upon a seat by the Way side, waiting: for his heart trembled for the Ark of God, 1 Sam. 4. 13.

**T**Here's his Text; from whence he gathers Two Observations.

First, When the Ark of God is in Danger to be lost, the People of God have thoughtful heads, and trembling hearts. (Or, to put this Doctrine into a Gospel-Dress) When the Gospel is in Danger of losing, when Gospel-Ordinances are in Danger of being lost, and Gospel-Ministers in Danger of losing, then the People of God have trembling heads, and careful and solicitous hearts about it.

Kings Declar.  
Decemb. 26.  
1662. Pa. 8.

His Majesty's  
Speech to  
Both Houses,  
Feb. 18. 1662.

## Toleration Discus'd.

Ibid.

*Secondly, A true Child of God is more troubled, and more solicitous what shall become of the Ark, than what shall become of Wife and Children, or Estate.*

Pz. 7.

*He gives you in the next place, Four Reasons, Why the People of God are so much Troubled when the Ark of God is in Danger.*

Pz. 8.

*First, For the great Love they bear to the Ordinances of God, and to the Faithfull Ministers of Christ. They cannot be silent; they cannot but Tremble when they see the Ark of God in Danger.*

Ibid.

*Secondly, They are Troubled, because of the Interest they have in the Ark. The Ordinances of God are the Jewels of a Christian, and the Treasures of a Christian, and the Loss of them cannot but Trouble them. And Jesus Christ is the Joy of a Christian, and therefore when Christ is departing, they can not but be much afflicted at it.*

Pz. 9.

*Thirdly, They are Troubled because of their Accessaries to the losing of the Ark.*

Pz. 8.

*Fourthly, The People of God are Troubled because of the Mischiefs that come upon a Nation, when the Ark of God is Lost. The Tongue of man is not able to Express the Mystery of That Nation where the Ark of God is Taken.*

Pz. 9.

*First, When the Ark of God is taken, then the wayes of Sion mourn, and none come to the Solemn Assemblies; It was the complaint of the Church, Lam. 1. 4. That is matter of sadness.*

*Secondly, The Ministers of Christ are then driven into Corners. And that is matter of heart-trembling.*

*Thirdly, The Souls of Many are then in Danger, when the Gospel is gone, your Souls are in hazard: There is cause of sadness.*

*Fourthly, The Enemies of God Blaspheme, and are ready to say, Where is your God? Then do the Enemies of God Triumph.*

Pz. 10.

*Fifthly, Then is Jesus Christ trampled under foot, and the Ordinances of God defiled and trampled on, and then Blasphemy and Atheisme comes in like an Armed man.*

## Toleration Discus'd,

Zea. Very good, and what can you make out of All This; I see that The Loss of the Gospel is a Dreadfull Judgment; The very Fear of Losing it, a Dismal Apprehension; and that All Other Interests are as Nothing in Competition with Jesus Christ?

Conf. Agreed, Thus far all's Right, and as it should be; But come now to his Application.

The Ark of God is (at this instant) in Danger of being lost, D'yee see? Here is no less then All at Stake, the very first Dash. Ask him now, Where the Danger lies? He Answers ye, that we have lost our first Love to the Gospel, and to the Ordinances. Is not This to Charge the Church of England with Apostacy? Hear him again; and set his Vanity against his Sedition. More particularly, Aldermanbury may truly fear the Loss of the Ark, and be Unchurched; for want of a Faithfull Minister to go In and Out before them. That is to say, Famous Mr. Calamy (for that Epithete he bestowes upon Himself) is Remov'd, and consequently the Candlestick.

Pa. 12.

Bid.

Pa. 12.

Pa. 13.

Another thing that makes him fear the Loss of the Ark, is, The Abundance of Priests, and Jesuits, that are in the midst of us, and the Preaching of Popery amongst us, and the Proneness of people to run headlong to the Garlick and Onions of Egypt again. But where are our old Eli's now, to sit watching and Trembling for fear of the Ark? Where are our Moses's, Our Elijah's? Our Uriahs, &c.

Observe This Paragraph well. Here's first, an Open and Express Endeavour to Startle the People with a fear of Popery, which was the very Artifice by which This very Person promoted our Late Troubles.

Secondly, Here's a direct Arraignment of the King, and of his Ministers. Where are Our Moses's, &c. — What is This but to say, Beloved, ye see, Jesus Christ is Departing, Idolatry is breaking In upon us, and Our Moses's, Our Eli's, never look after it. Pray'e lay it a little more to Heart, your selves. You can complain (says he) of Taxes, and Decay of Trading; of This Civil Burden, and That Civil Burden: but where's the Man or Woman that Complains of This Misery.

ibid.

The

## Toleration Discus'd.

*The Loss of the Ark? Who lays to Heart, Who Regards what shall become of Religion? There is a strange kind of Indifference, and Lukewarmness upon most Peoples Spirits: so they may have their Trading go on, and Their Civil Burdens remov'd, they care not what becomes of the Ark.*

What is This, but to bring Authority to the Barr, and set the Subject upon the Bench? What is it, but in p'aïn Terms, to sollicit the Multitude to a Tumult? For Mr. Calamy knowes very well, that they have no other way in the world to do him a service in This Case, but by Sedition. And for fear of Mistakes, Note, I beseech ye, with what Care the Good man leads them to his Meaning: They can complain of Taxes he fayes, but Hee would have them Complain for the *Loss of the Ark*; That is, in honest English, He would have them *Clamour against the Government of the Church*. The very Truth is, This Gentleman speaks both upon *Experience*, and *Foresight*; for no man knowes better, both what it has done, and what it may do. First, as to his *Foresight*, Rebellion can never be made God's Cause, but by taking the *Ark* into the *Quarrel*. Next, to his *Experience*. This Person was one of the Five that Menag'd the Cause of the Rabble against Biskops, some Twenty Years agoe. There was compleyning for fear of the *Ark* too: and what Ensud' upon it, but the *Dissolution* of the Government, the *Scandal* of Religion, and the *Murder* of the King? He Blames the People next for their *Lukewarmness*; Pray mark me; They have been once in Arms already since the King came in. They make no scruple at all of Affronting the *Law*: They have Enter'd into several Plotts upon the very Person of his *Sacred Majesty*, and All This, for fear of the *Ark*, as the poor Wretches miserably Imagine. If This Zeal be not sufficient, I wonder what Temper it is that our *Religious Salamander* would perswade them to: Now take the whole Matter in Complication, and you have

First, *A Prohibited Minister Preaching Publiquely in Despite of a Solemn Law.*

Secondly,

## Toleration Discuss'd.

37.

Secondly, The Sermon it self is within the Reach of *The Act for the King's Safety*, Where It is Enacted, That what Person soever, shall Maliciously and Advisedly publish or affirm the King to be an Heretick or a Papist, or that he endeavours to Introduce Popery; or shall Maliciously and Advisedly, by Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other speaking, express, publish, utter or declare, any Words, Sentences, or other thing or things, to incite or stir up the people to Hatred or Dislike of the Person of his Maiesty, or the Established Government; then every such person and persons being thereof Legally convicted, shall be Disabled to have or enjoy, and is hereby Disabled and made Ineapable of having, holding, enjoying, or exercising any Place, Office, or Promotion Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military, or any other Employment in Church or State, other than that of his Peerage, &c.

Thirdly, Here's not only a *Reproche* cast upon the Government, but an *Appeal Offer'd to the People*, for the Redress of it.

Now to proceed; You have him Here, Charging upon the Peoples Consciences, the sin of not being sufficiently affected with the Danger that the Ark of God is in.

Pa. 19.

*It is a sign you do not Love the Gospel; if you had any Love to it, you would be troubled more for the danger of the Ark, than for any Outward Danger whatsoever.*

Ibid.

Is not This, the very style and scope of --43. ( I spare his former Hortatives to the Warr, even for the Credit of the Function,) *The Glory of God* (he sayes) is *Imbark'd in the same Ship which This Cause is in.* And *53, & 51.* *again,* *Sermon, July 15. --43. pag.*

## Toleration Discuss'd.

again, [ *When you are derided for hazarding Lives and Estates in This Cause, you must reply,* It is for God, and his Religion. And what was *This Cause*, I beseech ye, but the Foulest Conspiracy that ever appear'd under that Masque? (and Those are of all others, certainly, the Foulest.) Religion was Then in Danger, it seems : That is, the Presbyterian was not as yet sure in the Saddle; nor would That Obstinate and Implacable Faction ever be Quiet, till they forc'd their Sovereign to confute the Imposture with his Bloud.

We have it now from the same Hand, that *the Ark is in Danger*, and what's that but *The Good Old Cause* over again, only a little vary'd in the Dress? By the *Ark*, he has already explain'd Himself to Intend, the Interest of the *Ejected Clergy* [Pa. 6.] ; and what he means by pressing so deep a Concern for the *Danger* of it, let any sober man Imagine. He tells them first, that the *Ark* is in danger, and Then conjures them, as they Love the *Gospel*, not to Regard any *Outward Danger* what's ever to save it. If This be not to *Invite, Provok*, and *Warrant* any Violence Imaginable, either upon the *Person* of the *King*, or upon the *Authority* of the *Law*, or wherever else the Multitude shall think fit to fasten the Quarrel; let me suffer the shame that belongs to him that's Guilty of such an Offence. Nor shall the Project want Hammering, for hee's over with it again and again, [ *Let me beseech ye All to Declare you are the People of God in D E E D, and in Truth, by following the Example of Old Eli, to be very solicitous for the Ark of God* ]

[ *Consider what a sad Condition we are in, if the Ark be Taken; What will your Estates doe ye Good, or all your Consernments do ye Good, if the Gospel be Gone?* ----- *What is the Glory of England; What is the Glory of Christianity but the Gospel?* If the *Gospel* be *Gone*, our *Glory* is *Gone*.--- *Oh! when the Glory is Gone, who would Desire to*

**Pa. 16.** *Live?* He goes on, [ *I am loth to tell you the story of Chrysostom; he was but One Man, yet when he was banish'd Constantinople, the People all Petitioned for him, and said, They could as well lose the Sun out of the Firmament, as lose*



lose Chrysostome from among them. Oh the sad, and lamentable, and woful Condition we are in, if the Ark of God be taken!

Without any Force to his Meaning, take his Sense in few words. What will your *Lives*, or *Estates* avail ye, without the *Gospel*? Petition for your *Chrysostome* again. (Good Gentleman ! as if the Sole Receptacle of the *Holy Ghost* were Mr. Calamy's *Night-cap*) Now to what End this Tends, let Any man look that is not blind. No Man runs the Risque either of his *Life*, or *Fortune*, for a *Petition*; so that his *Enforcing* so much, the *Contempt* of *Outward Dangers*, and of *all other Concernments*, in comparison with the Safety of the *Ark*, (which is now in Hazard) cannot Rationally be Apply'd to an *Action* that carries along with it No Danger at all. Wherefore you must of Necessity, Grant, that your friend either Meant *Nothing*, or *Worse*; and that his Pressing, and Disposing the Multitude to so great a contempt of their *Lives*, and *Fortunes*, was but a Tacit Encouragement of them to some *Action* that might bring Those Interests in Question.

Zea. I perceive, a Presbyterian is well helpt up that has you for his Interpreter.

Conf. Can you your self Acquit him?

Zea. I must confess, I think he might have worded it with more Caution.

Conf. And then his Horrible, Unchristian, Bitterness against the Government,---- You have seen *Smeleymnuus* I suppose.

Zea. Yes, yes; He is a little Eager in his Way.

Conf. Come, Zeal; I'll Disabuse ye: What will you say, if I bring you to a Person, that shall Averre to Mr. Calamy's Face, that since his Majesty's Return, He has Declar'd Himself not Unsatisfy'd with the Government, and Discipline of the Church of England, and that only the Importance of his Parishioners Diverted Him from accepting a *Bishoprick*? You will the less wonder at This when ye Consider, how Absolutely he was For

the Church, till he found it more Beneficial to be *A-*  
*gainst it.*

Zea. *All that I shall say, is This; Let every man speak as he finds: and so, if you please, wee'll leave him to take his Fortune.*

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### S E C T. X.

#### *Arguments against TOLERATION in Respect of the Authority that is to Grant it.*

Conf. Come Gentlemen, I have yet one Exception more to your Toleration, and That is upon the Accompt of the Authority that is to Grant it. From whom doye Expect it?

Zea. From the Parliament.

Conf. But what is't you call a *Parliament*? for, one while the *King* and the *Two Houses* in Co-ordination are a *Parliament*; and when Ye have Screw'd out the Kings *Negative Voyce*, The *Lords* and *Commons* are a *Parliament*; and Then down go the *Lords*, and the *Commons alone* are a *Parliament*; and at Last, Out with *Them* too, For the Fountain of Dominion is in the *People*. This is the Scale of your Politicks. But to the Point in hand; You Apply to the *Parliament*, and your Grievance is Matter of *Conscience*; Do ye make the *Civil Power* a Judge of *Conscience*?

Zea. No, under Favour, My Desire that the *Parliament* will Relieve my *Conscience*, does not Consequently make it a Judge of it.

Conf. And with Your Pardon too, How shall the Magistrate know whether your *Conscience* is opprest, or no, if he be no Judge of it? One of these Two Rules He is

to proceed by ; Either That of his own Particular, or the General Rule of all Consciences. If He measure your Conscience by the *Former*, there's no Oppression in the Case ; for His Conscience is very well satisfy'd in That which will not down with *Yours*. If by the *Latter*, All other Consciences would be Concern'd as well as *Yours*, in the Violation of a General Rule : So that Evidently, your Scruples are Singular, and if you cannot bring them within his Cognizance, you must Subject them to his Authority ; and First teach him to Know when your Conscience is troubled, before ye Complain because tis not eas'd.

Scrup. For That, Every man tells his owne Tale best, and may best be Credited in That which No body knows but Himself.

Conf. And under That Colour, so Many Men as make no Conscience at all of an *Imposture*, shall pretend to make one of a *Ceremony*. Peruse the Tragedies of our *Holy Leagues*, *Covenants*, and *Reformations* : What Crimie so Execrable that has not been Committed under the Moto of *Gods Cause*, and Patronage of *Conscience*? What Act so Horrid, that has not past for a *Divine Impulse* ; and (if it Hit) the Author of it for an *Inspired Instrument of Justice*? Nay more ; not One Notorious Practice of a Hundred, upon the Person of a Prince, but under a Religious Vernish ; and Commonly, a *Priest* at the *One* End of it, and an *Impulse* at the *Other*.

Was it not a *Holy Father* and the *Prior* of the *Covent* (one of the Heads of the League) that Confirm'd *Clement* in his Purpose of Murdering *Harry the Third of France*? For *Davila Delle Guer. Civ. di Fran. Lib. 10.* They Assur'd him, that if he out-liv'd the *Fact*, he should be a *Cardinal*; if he Dy'd, a *Saint* : and This was it that fixt aim in his Determination. What was it again, that Originally Dispos'd this Monster to That Dif-  
ficult Villany ; but principally *Seditious Sermons against the King as a Persecuting Tyrant*? [Stimolato dalle predicationi, che giornalmente sentiva fare contra Henrico di Valois, nominato il persecutore della fede, & il Tiranno, &c.] See in the *Ibid.* fame I. 3.

## Toleration Discuss'd.

Lib. 14.

same Author, the Confession of John Castle, concerning his Attempt upon Harry the Great, which was, that he had been brought up in the Jesuites School, and Instructed, that it was not only Lawful, but Meritorious to Destroy Harry of Bourbon, that Revolted Heretick and Persecutor of the Holy Church [ *Esaminato con le solite forme, confessi liberamente, &c.* ] What was it that Animated Ravillac to his Damn'd Practice upon that Brave Prince, but (by his own Confession) a Discourse of Mariana's, *De Rege, & Regis Institutione?* Twas a Divine Instinct too, that Mov'd Bal-  
*Strada de Bello thasar Gerard to Destroy the Prince of Aurange [Divina Belgico Lib. 5. tantum Instinctu id à se patratum constanter Affirmabat, diu Tortus, &c.]* To conclude with that Fresh and Horrible Instance here at Home; Acted upon the Sacred Person of the Late King. What was it, but the Operation of That Poyson in the People, which was Instill'd into them by their Ministers? How Inconsistent then is the Liberty of the Pulpit, with the Safety of the Government? and how Great a Madnes were it to Expect, that the same Persons should Establish This Prince by virtue of the same Liberty by which They Ruin'd the Last?

You cannot certainly but Confess the Hazard to his Sacred Majesty of Granting a Toleration; take a little Notice now, of the Indignity in proposing it. That Grace which were an Ample Reward even for the most Meritorious Services, and Loyalty, do These People Mutinously Demand as a Requital for the Contrary.

Scrup. Will ye oppose the Exercise of a Charity, because it may be Abus'd.

Conf. No, but I shall Oppose the Encouragement of a Confidence that Presses to be Required for an Injury: and in truth, Your Petition properly taken, is rather a Mockery than a Request. As for the Purpose, What is't ye stick at?

Scrup. The Act for Uniformity.

Conf. Is it the Model, or the Uniformity that troubles you?

Scrup. Why truly I Except to Both; for Neither is the Particular

## Toleration Discuss'd.

63

Particular Act fram'd to my satisfaction, nor is it possible, that any One Form of Worship should suit All Judgments.

Conf. Will Toleration suit All Judgments any better then Uniformity? Or do ye accompt the Sanction of any One Form Whatsoever, to be Lawfull?

Scrup. Indeed I do not think it lawfull for a Magistrate to Enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which a Private Person may not lawfully obey him in; nor do I think it Warrantable for a Man to Obey any Humane Command against his Conscience.

Conf. Now lay together what you have said; First, It is not Possible, that any One Form of Worship should suit All Judgments; and then it is not lawfull to Enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which does not suit All Judgments. What is This but a meer Trifling of Government, to suppose a Law without an Obligation? Again; If the Magistrate canhot Impose, neither can he Tolerate; unless you'll suppose him a more Competent Judge of Your Conscience, then of his Own: for you Allow him the Cognisance of what he may Tolerate, and Deny him the Knowledge of what he may Impose. In fine, Your Arguments, and Opinions, duly weigh'd, his Majesty has either no Power, or no Reason to permit you a Toleration; No Power, as You state his Capacity, and no Reason as you Disclaim his Supremacie.

Scrup. I do not Oppose the Coactive Power of the Civil Magistrate, in Matters of Civil Concernment; but I take the Case in Question to be of Another Quality, and out of the Verge of the Secular Jurisdiction.

Conf. I think it will become you then, not to Importune his Majesty for the Dissolving of an Ecclesiastical Law, before you acknowledge him Vested with the Right of Making it.

Ze. If you think fit, let that Point be the Next Question.

Conf. Agreed; it shall.

Sixt.

## SECT. XI.

## The Proper Subject and Extent of Humane Power.

*Conf.* **A**S Reasonable Nature consists of Soul, and Body; so is the Authority that Governs it, Divine and Humane; God, Eminently over All, and Princes Ministerially under Him, and as His Substitutes. The Dominion of our Souls God reserves peculiarly to Himself, committing That of our Bodyes to the Care of the Magistrate. Now if Power be a Divine Ordinance, so consequently is Subjection; for, to Imagine the One without the Other, were to Destroy the Ratio of Relatives. A sober Disquisition of This Matter, would save much Trouble that arises about the Bounds and Limits of our Duty; how far Religion binds us, and how far Allegiance. That they are severable, we must not doubt, for Truth it self hath said it; *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's:* But that They are only so severable, as never to become Inconsistent, is founded upon the same Immovable Rock, *Let every soul be subject, &c.*-- a Precept of a Perpetual, and Universal Operation, and Limited neither to Time, Place, nor Persons.

*Ze.* Your Deduction of Government, and Subjection from Divine Institution, is well enough couchr, and that we are to Obey the Magistrate for God's sake, and in subordination to God, is Easily Prov'd, and Granted; but I hear Nothing yet of the Particular Bounds and Terms of Humane Jurisdiction, What 'tis belongs to God, and What to Cæsar.

*Conf.* That I confess, is the Pinch of the Question; for One Duty comes up so close to the Other, that 'tis not for Every Common Eye to passe between them. Effectu-

## Toleration Discus'd.

63

Effectually, they Touch; but, in what Point, is of a Nice Decision. The Readiest way in my opinion, to the strict Knowledge of our Duty, is by the *Laws* and *Powers* of the Authority; for, 'tis Requisite that a Man know the Rule, before he can Observe it. Wee are then to Consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has Invested Kings with an Unlimited Power of Commanding, or Forbidding, in all matters which God himself has not either Commanded, or Forbidden; which Proposition Resolves it self into This Conclusion,

*Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the subject of Humane Power.* The subject of Humane Pow-

Scrup. Does not That Opinion destroy Christian Liberty?

Conf. No: but the Denial of it Destroys Magistracy. If Kings have not This Power, they have non: at all; and it Implyes a Contradiction, to suppose any Authority in Nature without it.

Scrup. But may not a Prince tye himself up in a Thing Otherwise Indifferent?

Conf. I speak of Power according to the Institution, not of Power limited by Paction.

Scrup. May not the same thing be Indifferent to One, and not so to Another?

Conf. Granted; and I pray'e follow it a little further. May not every thing Imaginable appear Non-Indifferent to some or other; if nothing can be commanded, but what upon such a Phansy may be Disobey'd?

Scrup. Pardon me, I do not speak of Matters of Civil Concern, but of Matters of Religion.

Conf. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance in any One Civil Action, that may not be made Relative to Religion. But stick to the Mark; We are upon the Extent of Humane Power: That there is such a Power; and That Authoris'd too by God Himself, You have already granted: Now tell me, Upon what shall That Power be Exercis'd, if you Exclude things Indifferent? One man may have a Reall Scruple; and All the Rest, Pretend one; Who shall Distinguish? So that the Rule holding from One, to

All, the Sacred Authority of the Prince becomes Dependent upon the Pleasure of the Subject, and the Validity of a Divine and Unchangeable Ordinance, is subjected to the Mutable Judgement and Construction of the People.

Scrup. It may be You Expell the Magistrate should as well have a Power of Judging what's Indifferent, as of Restreyning it.

Conf. You may be sure, I do ; for otherwise I'm where I was, if I make *You* the Judge : Is't not all one, as to the Magistrate, Whether you Refuse upon Pretense that the Thing is not Indifferent, or upon Pretense that he cannot Restreyn a Thing Indifferent ? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject* ; for the *One* way 'tis an *Usurpation* of Authority, and the *Other* way, 'tis a *Denyall* of it.

Scrup. Why then it seems, I am to Believe any thing Indifferent, which the Magistrate tells me is so, be it never so Wicked.

Conf. No ; There You're bound up by a Superior Law.

Scrup. Have you forgot your self so soon ? 'Twas but just now, you would not allow me to be a Judge, and here you Make me One.

Conf. Right ; to your self you are, but not to the Publicke : A Judge of your own Thought, but not of the Law.

Scrup. At your rate of Arguing now from One to All ; Authority, methinks, should be as much Endanger'd This way, as the Other ; for All may Judge Thus, as well as One.

Conf. 'Tis possible they May ; Nay wee'll suppose an Imposition foul Enough to move them all to do so ; and yet there's a Large Difference ; for, Diversity of Judgment does not shake the Foundation of Authority ; and a man may Disobey a sinful Command with great Reverence to the Power that Imposes it.

Scrup. You were saying even now, that my Duty to God, and to the King, cou'd never be Inconsistent: Pray'e, How shall I behave my self, if the Prince Commands One thing, and God, Another? I cannot Observe the Law, without Violence to my Conscience, nor Discharge my Conscience, without Offence to the Law; What Course shall I take to avoid Enterferring?

Conf. Demean your Self as a Christian toward the Law of God, on the One hand; and as a Subject, toward the Ordinance of God on the Other: as Considering that you are Discharg'd of your Obedience, but not of your Subjection.

Scrup. Suppose the Supreme Magistrate shou'd by a Law Establish a False Wor&kip.

Conf. Hee's still your Prince, and even in This Complication, you may acquit your self both to God, and Caesar. Divide the Wor&kip from the Magistrate, and in so doing, you both Fear God, and Honour the King; and it is only This Loyal and Religious Separation of our Duties, that must set us right in the Main Controversie. Where do ye find that Kings Reign upon Condition of Ruling Righteously? Or that we owe them lesse After Misgovernement, than we did Before?

Scrup. But do ye say, we are bound to Honour an Idolatrous Prince?

Conf. Yes, yes: the Prince you are bound to Honour, though not as an Idolater. Shall the Vice or Error of the Person, blemish the faultless Dignity of the Order? By That Rule, the world must Continue without a Government, till we can find Men without Failings.

Scrup. So that you allow I perceive of Distinguishing betwixt the Person and the Office.

Conf. Betwixt the Frailty of the One, and the Sacredness of the Other, I do: for Kings Command as Gods, though they Judge as Men: but I do no more allow of Dividing the Person of a Prince from his Authority, then of Dividing his Soul from his Body.

Scrup. And, I beseech ye, what is that which you call Authority?

## Toleration Discus'd.

*Conf.* To tell ye Only that it is *Gods Ordinance*, falls short, I believe, of the Scope of your Question. Wherefore take This in Surplufage. It is the Will and Power of a Multitude, Deliver'd up by Common Consent to One Person or More, for the Good and Safety of the Whole : and this Single or Plural Representative Acts for All. Take This along with ye too. The Disposition of such or such a Number of Persons into an Order of Commanding and Obeying is That which we call a *Society*.

*Scrup.* What is the Duty of the Supreme Magistrate ?

*Conf.* To procure the Welfare of the People, or, according to the Apostle ; He is the Minister of God, for a Comfort to Those that Do Well, and for a Tresour to Evill-Doers.

*Scrup.* How far are his Lawes binding upon his Subjects ?

*Conf.* So far as They that parted with their Power had a Right over Themselves.

*Scrup.* Whence was the Original of Power, and what Form of Government was First, Regal, or Popular ?

*Conf.* Power was Ordain'd of God, but Specify'd by Man ; and beyond doubt, the First Form of Goverment was Monarchique.

*Scrup.* Nay, Certainly the Popular Form was first, for How could there be a King without a People ?

*Conf.* So was the Son before the Father (you'll say) for How could there be a Father without a Son. But the Question is First, Was the World ever without a Government, since the Creation of Man ? Secondly, Whether was first in the World, One Man, or More ? I see well enough what 'tis You'd be at ; You would fain advance the Popular Form above the Regal : which if ye could, 'twere Nothing to our purpose ; for we are not upon the Form of Government, but upon the Latitude of Humane Jurisdiction, be the Sovereignty where it will ; and that it extends to whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is my Assertion. If you Deny This, You Overthrow All Government, (as is already prov'd) and if you Grant it, we are at Liberty for the next Enquiry which is concerning,

## S E C T. XII.

*The Bounds of TOLERATION; with  
some Reflections upon SCHISM, and  
SCANDAL.*

Conf. **I**T is already agreed, that *Government* is a *Divine Eccles. Polit. Ordinance*; and *Order* (according to the Reverend Lib. 1. Pa. 7. Hooker) is only, *A Manifestation of the Eternal Law of God*. So that I think, a Man may safely pronounce (upon This Allowance) First, that *What Principle soever is Manifestly Destructive of Government, or but rationally tending to Confusion, cannot be of God*. Secondly, *Every Man is to Content himself in his Station as being no farther accomplishable, than for what's committed to his Charge*. Under These Two Heads will be found (if I mistake not) whatsoever belongs to the Political Part of our Debate.

We are here to enquire, not how far Toleration may be *Convenient, or otherwise*; but how far *Warrantable and Lawful*: and I find it (by a Reverend, and Learned Prelate) brought to This Standard, [*In the Question of Toleration, The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be Secur'd.*] Wherein is compris'd a Provision and Care, that we may live as *Christians toward God*; as *Members of a Community toward one another*; and as *Loyal Subjects toward our Sovereign*. Now if you'll admit Opinions to be only so far Tolerable as they *Conflict with These Duties of Religion, Morality, and Society*, We have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of *Piety, and Good Manners, and to the Ends of Government*.

Scrup. 'Tis True; were Men Agreed upon Those Rules: But ne see Several Men have Various apprehensions of the same thing;

## Foletation Difcusses.

thing; and that which One Man takes for a Rule, Another Counts an Error.

Conf. By your Argument, we shall have no Religion, because Men Differ about the Right; No Bible, because Men Disagree about the Meaning of it: No Rule, in fine, at all to square our Actions by, till Truth, and Reason shall be Establish'd by a Popular Vote.

The Law says Worfhp Thus, or So; use This Form, That Ceremony, Posture, Habit, &c. --- The Libertine cries No, 'tis a Confinement of the Spirit; an Invention of Man; a Making of That Necessary which God left Free; a Scandal to Tender Consciences, &c. --- And Here's Authority Concluded, as to the Manner of Worship.

So for the Time. How do They know when Christ was Born, or Crucify'd? Nay, They have much ado to call to Mind when the Late King was Murder'd: but the Relief of Taunton, and the Repulse They gave the Cavaliers at Lyme: This They can very well Remember, and Celebrate Those Daies of Mercy with a most Superstitious Gravity, and Form. The Churches Fasting-Daies, They make their Jubilees; and still it happens, that Their Consciences and the Law, run Counter.

'Tis the same Thing, as to the Place; Command Them to Church; They'll tell ye, there's no Inherent Holiness in the Walls; the Hearts of the Saints, are the Temples of the Lord. Is not God to be found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-House? In fine, What's their Plea for All This; but that, This is One Mans Judgment, That, Anothers: This or That may be Indifferent to You, but not to Mee. What's Indifference to Christianity? This sickly Humour opens a door to as many Controversies as there are Men; it leaves Authority, naked; and exposes the Law to any mans Scorn, that shall think fit to Scruple his Obedience.

To conclude; This Lawless Liberty, Razes the very Foundation

## Toleration Discus'd.

71

foundation of Government; it creates as many Religions, as there are several Phansies; and, briefly, the Assertors of This Liberty are of the Number of Those that are not upon any Terms to be admitted within the Pale of a Toler-  
ation.

Scrup. Shall the Magistrate make me All against my Conscience?

Conf. Shall the Subject make Him Tolerate against His? But to proceed; There are that place [a] the Sovereignty [a] Parker, in the Diffusive Body, of the People, that hold it Law- Goodwin, Ru-  
full for the Subjects to enter into Leagues and Covenants, therford, Mil-  
ton, &c. not only Without the Sovereign's Consent, but Against his Authority; that call upon the People in the Pulpit, [b] to Assist the Forces raised by the PARLIAMENT, [b] E. Cat. according to their Power and Vocation, and not to Assist the Noble-mans Forces raised by the KING, neither DIRECTLY nor IN- Pattern, pa.45. DIRECTLY: That Proclaym [c] the breach of the Nation- [c] E.C. Pri-  
nal Covenant, to be a greater sin, than a sin against a Com- nix, pa. 158; mand'ment, or against an Ordinance— a sin of so high a & 159. Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be Aveng'd upon't.

These are a People likewise, whose Principles stand in no Consistence either with Piety or with Government; and can as little Pretend to the Benefit of a Toleration as the Firmer.

There are that Affirm, [d] Reformation of Religion to be [d] Ruberfords the People's Duty no Less than the King's: [e] and that the Due Right of Pastors of the Land are Oblig'd to Reform Themselves and Re- Presbytery, ligion without the King; nay, though the King command the [e] Ibid.p.488. contrary.

There are that Print [f] the English Episcopal Clergy to [f] Mr. Man-  
le sons of Belial; that Press the Cutting of them off; that ion's Smetlym-  
scandalously Charge Them with Drunkenness, Prophanesse, nnus, Publish-  
Superstition, Popishnes: To the Dihonour of that Go- since his Maj-  
vernment which his Majesty has sworn to Maintain, and pa. 58.  
to the Hazard of the Publique Peace. These also do  
I take to be a People, whose Practices and Opinions  
Threaten a certain and swift Destruction both to Church  
and State, Wherever They are Tolerated. What secu-  
rity

## Toleration Discus'd.

72  
rity can a Prince expect, where his *Misakes* are made the common Theme of the *Pulpit*, and where His *Regalities* are subjected, to the Good Pleasure of His Subjects.

Ze. You do not think it Lawfull then I perceive, to Tolerate the Non-conformists.

Conf. Till they renounce their *Seditious*, and Anti-Monarchical wayes, I must confess I do not.

Ze. And which are These I beseech ye?

Conf. Their Inconformity to the Law; Their Doctrine of Conditional Obedience: Their Erecting an Ecclesiastical Supremacy to overtop the Prerogative Royall; To say no more, Their Declaring the Magistrate accomptable to the People.

Scrup. Conformity, You have spoken some sharp Truths, and it is to be presum'd that you'll Allow the Liberty you Take. Whether do you believe Scandal to be any more Tolerable, than Schism? Or, are not the Sons of the Church (as ye call them) as Guilty of the One, as the Non-conformists are of the Other.

Conf. Scandal, My good Friend, is a General Term; especially as you frequently apply it: and 'tis but Reason for me to ask your Meaning, before I give you my Answer. To say, that the Sons of the Church are Guilty of Scandal, when, *eo nomine*, they appear to you Scandalous, is no more then to say, that the Sons of the Church are the Sons of the Church: for, the Church it self, the Government, and the Rites of it, are All, Scandalous to You. Wherefore I beseech ye, be a little more Particular, that I may understand what Scandal you intend, and be as plain, as playn may be.

Scrup. Nay, you shall have it then, and as plainly too as your Heart can wish. Your Position is, that No Toleration can warrantably be Granted to the Hazard of Religion, Good Life, and Government.

According to That Standard, You'd find, that the Conformists have as little Right to a Toleration, as their Neighbours; and that the Notorious Scandal on the One side,

out-weighs the Pretended Schism on the Other. But, to make my self understood; by Scandal, I mean Publique and Habitual Prophaneness, Sensuality, Dissolution of Manners, &c.---- as, by Schism and Sedition, I suppose You intend our Incompliances with your Church-Discipline: Our Preaching up the Power of Godliness, against the Form of it, (which You Interpret to be a Decrying of your Ceremonies) and our Exhortings, rather to obey God than Man, (which you are apt to take for an Affront to your Master's Pterogative.)

'Tis true; We cannot bring up our Consciences to your Ceremonies, and, for Refusing to doe, what we cannot Justifie the Doing of, we are Baptiz'd, Schismatiques. This Extermination of us from the Publique Assembly, puts us upon the Necessity of Private Meetings; and There we are charg'd with Plotts, and Practices upon the State. Take it all at the Worst, It is but doing That which the Whole Worl'd agrees must Necessarily be done, after such a Manner as few People Imagine we ought not to do it. So much for the Schism of the Non-Conformists. Now put the Scandal of the Adverſe Party into the Other Scale, and You Your ſelf shall hold the Ballance.

Set but Your Tavern-Clubs againſt Our Conventicles, and (since you will have it so) Oppoſe our Plotts againſt the Government in the One, to your Combinations againſt God HImſelf in the Other; (for Atheism is become the Sporr, and Wit; the Salt of your moft Celeſtrated Entertraiments.) In Your own Words, [The Eternal Vérité is made a Fable; Religion but a Scar-Crow, (the fowr Impression of a Superſitious Melancholy,) nor, iſt enough to Abandon Heaven, unleſs ye Invade it too; and in the Throne of Providence, ſet up the Empire, and Divinity, of Fortune. When you have dash'd the Bible out of Countenance, with the concit of The Three Grand Impoſtors, or ſome ſuch tart piece of Drolletry, (and all This Enterlarded with Execrable, and ſtudy'd Blaſphemyes) the Man muſt be caſt off, as well as the Christian; and there's the Upſhot of your Familiar Conversa-tions. If ſuch People as These may be Tolerated, where's

*your Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government?*

*Conf.* We are fallen, I must confess into a *Lewd Age*; and yet truly, when I consider, that This Nation has been Twenty years under *your Tuition*, 'tis a Greater Wonder to me; that it is not quite *Overspread with Atheism*, than to find it Only *Tainted and Infected* with it. The Reproche and Load of This Impiety, you have cast upon the *Episcopal Party*: but when we come to Trace the Monster to his Den, I'm afraid we shall bring the Footsteps of Him up to your own Dore.

That there are Exorbitants in *all Perswasions*, is a Thing not to be doubted; and that there are in *ours* as well as in *Others*, I will not Deny; but to Asperse the *Cause* for *Personal Misdemeanours*, is, to my thinking, very Diligentious. If ye will Charge *Personal Crimes* upon the Ac-compt of a *Party*, You should be sure to Make out Those Crimes to be Rationally Consequent to the *Tenents*, or *Aetlings*, of That *Party*. Now if you can shew me Any Affinity betwixt *our Principles*, and *Those Villanyes*, you say something; but if ye cannot, the Dust of your Argument puts out your own Eyes.

*Scrup.* You forget that you Condemn your own Practice; for why may not I Charge Personal Extravagancies upon your *Party*, as well as You do it upon Ours?

*Conf.* Only because there is not That *Affinity* (as I said but now) betwixt the *Principles* of the *Party*, and the *Faults* of the *Persons*; on the *One* side, which I find on the *Other*. To make This as Clear as the Day, wee'l open it Thus.

The *Episcopal Party* was for the *King*, and 'tis undenyable, that the *King*, and the *Church*, had both the *same Cause*, and the *same Fate*. The *Nonconformists* were against the *King*; and it is There as unquestionable, that They were the Men that Destroy'd both *Church*, and *State*. So that the Issue lies within This Compas; Whether the *Sovereignty* be in the *King*, or in the *People*? If in the *King*, the Rebellion was on *your side*; if in the *People*, the Guilt

Guilt of the Warr lies upon us. Now place the Power where ye please; Do ye own the Kings Authority, or do ye Disclaim it? If ye Disclaim it, why do ye Petition to your Inferior? or why should the King favour his Competitors? If ye Acknowledge it, Wee'l proceed upon This Grant, that the Non-Conformists were in a Rebellion; and prove that all the Transcendent Abominations which you Compleyn of, are but the proper, and Natural Fruits, that have proceeded from That Root.

Ze. You know there have been several Popular Tracts written upon This Subject; as ---- some-bodies Sovereign Power of Parliaments. Rutherford's Lex Rex, &c. that never were Answer'd yet.

Conf. Well said Old *True-penny*. I think the *Assemblies Letter* to the *Reformed Churches*, was never Answer'd neither. But, to be serious. There are indeed many dangerous, and seditious Treatises that lye unanswered (the more's the shame, and Pity.) If no body were wiser then my self; The sum of them All should be Confuted in one just Volume, and the Originals committed to the Fire, for the security of the Future.

Scrup. But you were about to tell us how Rebellion begets Atheism.

Conf. Well Remembred; and I pray'e Observe. There are but Two sorts of People that are Capable of being drawn into a Rebellion, the Weak and the Wicked; Those that do not understand what they doe, and Those that care not what they doe. The Ordinary Stage, is Religion; the Scene of This spiritual Imposture is the Pulpit, and the Arbitrators of the Cause are the Preachers; by the benefit of which Conjunction, (to wit) of the Weight of the Master in Question; [Religion], with the Authority appointed to Determine it; [God's Ministers] it is no hard businesse for a Painfull and Well-affected Ministry (That is, Painfull, and well-affected in, and to the Design) to Preach the Generality of the People into This Division: [i. e.] Those that cannot reach the Cheat to scruple at every thing; and Those that go along with it, to make a Conscience of No-

## Toleration Discus'd.

thing: and hence it comes, that This Kingdome is so Peſter'd with Enthusiaſts, and Atheiſts.

Zea. But I tell ye again; the Atheiſts are on the wrong ſide: The Atheiſts are Againſt us.

Conf. Let me Enform ye then, that Your Proceedings have Made Atheiſts, More waies then One.

First, The Meer Quality of your Caufe, has made Atheiſm the Interēt of Many of Your Partakers; Who to put off That Horrore which attends them if there be a God, Endeavour to perſuade themſelves that there is no God at all.

Secondly, The Work has been carried on under the Maſque of Holineſſe; and the moſt Desperate Atheiſt, is nothiſg elſe but a Crufed Hypocrite. I ſpeak of your Religious Atheiſt, who has This odds of the Prophane, and Scoffing Wretch, that he abuſes God to his Face, and in his own Houſe. The Great Atheiſts, indeed, are Hypocrites (ſayes Sir Francis Bacon) which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; ſo as they muſt needs be Canterbury'd in the End. It is Remarquable, (as I have elsewhere obſerv'd) that in the Holy Scripture there are not ſo many Woes pro-nouncl'd, nor ſo many Cautions Inculcated, againſt any Sort of People againſt Hypocrites. You ſhall There find that God has given the Grace of Repentance to Perſecutors, Idolaters, Muſtherers, Adulterers, &c. but I'm miſtaken if the whole Bible Yields any one Instance of a Converted Hypocrite.

Thirdly, Let me tell ye, for the Honour of your Praćtiſes, that as to the Defence of Atheiſm, you have done more then All that ever went before ye; upon that Noble Argument. Your People were not [a WICKED, PROPHANE, DRUNKEN Miniftry (They would never have ſettled the Ark) but SOBER, PIOUS, GODLY Miniftry, that did the Feat: a Praying, and Reforming People. Indeed a People that wou'd Seize a Brother's Benefice with more Reverence, then Any of our Prelates gives a Charity.

Zea Be not ſeuer, Conformity.

Essay of A-  
theiſm.

E. Calam.  
Strm. Dec. 18  
1662. Pa. 21.

Pa. 19.

Conf.

*Conf.* Then bid your Brethren leave their Gibbish, and their Juggling ; and wee'll to our Atheism again. Answer me Soberly, What if a State should grant a Toleration, for all men to talk of God-Almighty as they please ?

*Scrup.* A Horrid, Impious Proposition !

*Conf.* Thou art the Man, Scruple ; That which you Ask is more and worse ; for the Liberty is the same, and the Danger Infinitely Greater. In Earnest, He that Looks narrowly through our Late Troubles, from 1640 to 60, will find Matter not Only to Stagger a Weak Christian, but to put a Wise man to a Second Thought ; and to make him Exclaim with the Prophet, [Lo, These are the Ungodly, *Psal. 73. v. 12.* these prosper in the World, and these have Riches in possession--- Then have I cleansed my heart in Vain, and wasted my hands in Innocency.

To see Nye, and Marshall with their hands lifted up unto the Lord in a Holy Covenant ; Swearing to Day to Defend and Preserve the King's Majesty's Person, &c. and a while after with the same Consecrated Lips, Blessing That Curst Vote, that Manifestly Led to His Destruction (The Vote of Non-Addressees) which was no more then saying Grace to the Kings Bloud. To see a Gang of Pulpit-Weather-cocks Shifting from Party to Party, till they have run through every point of the Compacts, Swearing, and Counter-swearing ; and when the City was Split into more Factions, then Parishes, Still to Mainteyn, that the whole Schism was acted by the Holy-Ghost. To find the Pulpit in stead of Plain and Saving Truths Trading Only in Dark and Ora-culous Delusions, and the Pretended Messengers of Peace, turn'd Agents for Blood --- To hear and see All This, and More, and the Cause Prosper too. What could the Wit of Man add more to This Temptation to Apostacy ?

Lastly, I must Impute much of That Iniquity which now Reigns, to your Necessitated Toleration. I call it Necessitated, for you could never have Crush't the Government without it. That Toleration started so Many Lewd Opinions, that it was Some Degree of Modesty, for Fear of a Worse Choice, to be of No Religion at all ; and beyond

## Toleration Discus'd.

**Question,** Many People finding it left so Indifferent of *what Religion they were*; became Themselves as Indifferent, whether they were of *Any Religion or no.*

You have forc'd me here, in My own Defence, to be a little Sharper then I intended; and truly since we are *In* thus far, and that the *Schismatiques* think it so Mighty a matter to hit the *Prelatical Party* i'th' teeth at every Turn, with the Imputation of *SCANDAL*; I beseech ye tell me,

Which o'the Two do you count the more Tolerable, *SCANDAL*, or *SCHISM*?

**Scrup.** If by Schism you mean, a Refusal to joyn with That Church where I cannot Communicate without Sin: and if you intend by Scandal, such Actions as are of Ill example, and administer occasion to your neighbour of Falling, I think 'tis easily Determin'd, that the One is not to be Suffer'd, and the Other not to be Condemn'd.

**Conf.** When I speak of *Schism*, and *Scandal*, let not me be understood, to speak of This or That Sort, or Degree of Either; but in the Just Latitude both of the *One*, and the *Other*: That is; without more Circumstance, Which do you take for the more Tolerable Mischief of the Two?

**Scrup.** Truly betwixt a Perverse Separation, and a Notorious Scandal, I think the Choyce is hard: but I rather Incline against the Scandal.

**Conf.** Then let me tell ye, *Schism* is Both; and if ye Eff'ly of Unity will believe Sir Francis Bacon, [Heresies and Schisms, are of Religion, of all others the Greatest Scandals; yea more th'n Corruption of Manners.] Consider it first, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity*, (which is the *B'nd* both of *Religion*, and *Society*) what can be more *Scandalous* then That which renders Religion it self, *Ridiculous*? and That's the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many several Factions Grinning one upon another, and yet all pretending to the same *One*, and *Infallible Spirit*! To bring it homer, How Great a *Shame* and *Trouble* is This to Those that are *within us*! How great a *Discou'regement* to such as are *without us*; and How great

great a Subject of *Rejoicing* is it to Those that are *Against us* ! How many (in fine) has it driven *From us* ; and how many more has it hinder'd from coming to us ! Again ; 'tis seldome, (I think I might say, *never*) seen, that *Schism* goes *A lone* : and in Effect, it is but *Sedition* in a *Disguise*. For we find that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with great *Ease*, and *Unity*, agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

*Scrup.* And may there not be *Conspiracies in Scandal*, as well as in *Schism*? There, with an *Evident Design to bring Contempt upon Religion*: whereat Here, we find at least a Colour, and Pretence to uphold it. Beside; the sins which *I accompt Scandalous*, are, *many of them*, *Levell'd at the Pre-rogative of God Himself*; and, in short, the *Question is not properly, and simply, betwixt Schism, and Scandal, but be-twixt Schism, and all other sins whatsoever that may be Propagated by Conversation*; (for That's the *Latitude of Scandal*.)

*Zea.* Again, let me observe from your own mouth, that *Heresies are Scandals, and several Heresies you know, both by the Laws of God and Man, are Punish'd with Death*. He Numb. 4. 16. that *Blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shall be put to Death*. And from hence you may gather some Difference sure, betwixt the *heinousness of the One, and of the Other*.

*Conf.* If you will measure the *Sin* by the *Punishment*, you'll proceed by a very uncertain Rule: for Political Laws regard rather *Bullique Conveniences*, than *Particular Cases of Conscience*. A man shall lose his *Life* for Picking a *Pocket*, and but hazard his *Ears* for a *False Oath*. But if you'll refer the matter to the *Just and Infallible Judge of all the World*, God Himself; look but into that dreadful Judgement upon the *Schism of Korah*. Korah, Dathan, &c. rose against Moses with two hundred and fifty Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and said unto them, *Ye take too much upon you*, Numb. 16. 1. since all the Congregation is *Holy*, ev'ry one of them, and the Lord is among them. Wherefore then *Lift ye your selves above* V. 3.

## Toleration Discus'd.

V. 31. above the Congregation of the Lord. [And what follow'd?] The Earth open'd her mouth, and swallow'd Them up with their Families, and all the Men that were with Korah, &c. A fire came out from the Lord, and consum'd the two hundred and fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense. This set the Multitude a muttering against Moses and Aaron; saying Ye have kill'd the people of the Lord. See now what came of This Muttring too: Fourteen thousand seven hundred of them were consum'd by a Plague.

V. 35.

V. 41.

V. 49.

Zea. Well! but what if you'll understand That to be Schism, which I know to be Conscience?

Conf. Then have you the same Freedome to be Even with me, upon the Point of Scandal; and so the Controversie must be Endless for want of a Judge to Decide it.

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S E C T,

S A C T . X I I I .

The Necessity of a Final, and Unaccountable  
J U D G E .

Conf. What's your Opinion of the Necessity of a Judge?

Ze. I'm clearly for a Judge; that is, for a Judge furnish'd as well with a Competency of Understanding to Determine Aright, as with a Power and Commission to Determine.

Conf. A Judge supposes One Competency, as well as the Other; But the Determination must be Final, and Decisive; No Appeal from it, and no Contending Beyond it.

Ze. What not in Case of Error? I should be sorry to see a Roman Infallibility set up in England.

Conf. How you start now from the shadow of an Infallible Judge, into the Inconvenience of None at all! You would have a Judge you say: but then, That Judg must be Questionable, in Case of Error; so that another Judg is to Judg Him, and the very Judg of This Judg is Himself Questionable; and so is His Judg, and his Judges Judg; (to the end of the Chapter) In case of Error: Which Case of Error may be alledg'd, Wheresoever there's no Infallibility; and if there be no Infallibility in Nature, then by Your Rule, there can be no Judg in Nature.

Ze. I do not say but a man may Judg Certainly in some Cases, though not Infallibly in All; and my demand is only the Free Exercise of my Judgment of Discretion, without being Ty'd up to an Implicit Resignation. There is (in short) but a Right, and a Wrong; and the One I must Embrace, and Reject the Other. How shall I know This from That, without Enquiry? and what am I the better for That Enquiry, if when I have Learn'd my Duty, I am debar'd the Liberty to Practise it?

## Tolerantian Discourse.

*Conf.* You turn the Question here from the *Necessity* of a Judge, to his *Infallibility*. 'Tis not a half-penny to Me, whether you make him *Infallible*, or *Credible*, or *Probable*; or what you make him, or where you place him, provided he be acknowledg'd *Necessary*, and *Unacomptable*. *Necessary*, I suppose you will not stick at: for there can be no Peace without him, every man being at Liberty to wrangle, where no man is Authoris'd to Determine.

*Zea.* What is it that either Invites *Tyranny*, or Upholds it, but the Opinion of an Unacomptable-Sovereignty?

*Conf.* What is it rather (you should have said) that *Excites Sedition, and Depopulates Kingdomes*, but the *Contrary*? and the *Fiercest Tyranny*, is much more supportable then the *Mildest Rebellion*.

*Zea.* I shall readily allow you the Convenience of a *Definitive Judgment*, if you will but secure me from the Danger of a *Definitive Injustice*.

*Conf.* You mistake your self, if you Oppose a *Possible Injury* on the *One side*, to a *Certain Strife and Confusion* on the *Other*. If *Infallibility* you cannot find, why may not the *Fairest Probability Content* you?

*Zea.* But would you have That Probability, Govern by *Unquestionable, and Authoritative Conclusions*?

*Conf.* By any means; Ye do nothing, else; for where Controversies are Inevitable, and Concord Necessary; what can be more Reasonable, than to chuse the most Competent Judge of the Matter in Controversie, for the *Concluding Umpire* of the Controversie it self?

*Scrup.* But a man may Judge Probably in One Case, and Improbably in Another. Suppose the Determination to be manifest Error, or Injustice; would you have the same Submission pay'd to't, as if it were Equity, and Truth?

*Conf.* Yes; to the *Determination*, though not to the *Error*: You are to stand to the *Authority* of the Sentence, without Contesting the *Equity* of it: for *Right* or *Wrong*, 'tis a *Decision*. The Principal Scope, and sure end of a Reference, is *Peace*: the *Hopeful Event*, and *Issue* of it,

is, Righteous Judgment. Is it not well then, to be *Sure* of the One, and in so fair *Hopes* of the Other? Put it to the Worst! You are not bound to be of the Judge his *Opinion*, but to be over-rul'd by his *Authority*: neither do you undertake that he shall Judge *wisely* as to the Subject of the *Question*, but that he shall Judge *Effectually*, as to the purpose of the *Reference*.

Scrup. This *Resignation* may do well, in Cases of Civil Interest: but it will hardly hold in matters of Conscience. Who shall pretend to Judge of my Conscience, beside God, and myself?

Conf. The *Scripture*, which is the *Rule of all Consciences*, shall be the *Judge of Yours*. But the *Question* is not, What your Conscience *Says*, but what it *OUGHT* to be: nor what your Private Judgment *Says*, but what the *Scripture* *Means*: and the thing I strive for, is a *Judge of That*; A *Judge of the Rule of Faith*; which I take to be all out as Necessary as a *Judge of a Political Law*.

You cannot but Allow, that there are Diversities of Opinions, as well in Religion, as concerning *Secular Affairs*; and such is our Corruption, that we draw Poyson even from the Fountain of Life, and the Word of God it self, is made the warrant of all Crimes, and the Foundation of all Heresies.

Look behind ye, and you may see a *Prince Marthen'd* by his *Subjects*, *Authority Bisected* by a pretended *Law*, and All This Defended by a *Text*. The *Church Divorced* by a *Divided Ministry*; the *Government Overturn'd* by a *Solemn League and Covenant*, to *Support* it. An *Arbitrary Power Introduc'd* by the *Patrons of Liberty*, and *Charity* it self *extinguish'd* for the *Advancement* of the *Gospel*.. We have liv'd to see as many *Heresies*, as *Congregations*; and among Those of the *classical way*, a *Consisterian Scrutiny* Exercised beyond the Rigour of a *Spanish Inquisition*. We have seen some that [a] *Aabor Idols*, committing *Sacrilege*; [a] Rom. 2.12. Christ's Kingdom cry'd up, till his [b] *Divinity* is deny'd: [b] By the *Struggles* of *Life Inculcated*, till the very *Rule* of it (the [c] *Decalogue* it self) is *Rejected*. And *Blasphemy* hunted *Aniconians*. [c] By the *Familists*.

## Toleration Discus'd.

out of the Tavern, into the Pulpit. In short; what Sin, and Misery have we not known, and felt, since under the Form of Liberty of Conscience, This Freedome of a Private Spirit came in Vogue? Not are we ever to expect better from it, till all men shall conspire to do the same thing, where every man is left to his own Gust, to do what he pleases: and whence flowes all This Mischief, and Confusion, but from a Licence of wandering from the Rule?

Shew the People a *Written Law*; They'll tell you of a *Law of Nature*; and distinguish betwixt [The <sup>[d]</sup> *Political Power they have given the King, and the Natural Power which they Reserve to Themselves.*] ]

Bid them Reverence the King, as the Supreme Governor: They'll Answer you; No: *He's but the Servant, and Vassal of the People: his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from Them; and in Them Radically, as in the first Subject.* (According to Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, and a hundred more).

<sup>[a]</sup> Goodwin  
Right and  
Might, Pa. 10.  
Come to the Point of Non-Resistance, and you shall hear, that [a] *Wheresoever a King, or other Supreme Authority creates an Inferior, they invest it with a Legitimacy of Magistratical Power, to Punish themselves also, in case they prove Evil-doers: Yea, and to Act any other thing, requisite for the Praise and Encouragement of the Good.*

<sup>[b]</sup> Lex Rex  
Pa. 265.  
If it be demanded in what capacity the King may be Resisted? hear Rutherford again. [b] *The Man who is King may be Resisted, but not the Royal Office; The King in Concreto, may be Resisted; but not the King in Abstracto.*

<sup>[c]</sup> Lex. Rex  
Pa. 324.  
<sup>[d]</sup> Pa. 269.  
<sup>[e]</sup> Pa. 334.  
But in what Manner may he be Resisted; and by what Means. [c] He may be Resisted in a Pitch'd Battel, and with Swords and Guns. That is; his <sup>[d]</sup> *Private will* may be Resisted, not his *Legal Will*; Neither is he Present in the Field as a. [e] *King*, but as an *Injust Invader*, and *Graf-sator*.

<sup>[f]</sup> Pa. 324.  
<sup>[g]</sup> Pa. 273.  
<sup>[h]</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>[i]</sup> Ibid.  
If he chance to be slain: 'Tis but an [f] *Accident*; and who can help it? [g] *Hee's Guilty of his own Death;* or [h] let them Answer for't that brought him Thither. [i] *The Contrary Party is Innocent.* But

But This Resistance, is only Justifiable (I hope) in Magistrates, or Authoritative Assemblies, as Parliaments, &c. Rutherford says Nay to that. All Powers must be serv'd with the same saice, if they abuse their Trust. [k] [The [k] Lex. Rex. People can give no Other Power, then such as God has given Ps. 152. Them; and God has never given a Moral Power to do ill.] [l] [All FIDUCIARY Power, Abus'd, may be Repeal'd; and [l] Ibid. Parliamentary Power is no Other: which, if it be Abus'd, the People may Repeal it; and Refuse them; Annulling their Commission; Recinding their Act; and Demanding them of their Fiduciary Power given to the King himself may be Denied of the same Power, by the Three Estates] and Goodwin tells us, in Little; that [a] All Humane Lawes, and Constitutions, [a] Right and set made with Knes to bind to the Law of Nature and Necessity.

Well; but suppose the Prince has the good hap to scape Gun-shot; and only to become a Prisoner; You have no Law to Try him by. He has no Peers, what course will you take with him? Milten's opinion is that [b] Every [b] Tenure of Writiby Man in Parliament, might, for the Publique Good, be thought a Fair Peer, and Judge of the King; and Goodwin Dogmatizes, that [c] [where there is no Opportunity, for the [c] Defence Interposure of other Judges, the Law of Nature, and of Nations of the Kings Sentence, P.34. allows every man to Judge in his own Case.] Parker comes homer yet [d] There never was (says he) a greater Har- [d] English mony of the Lawes of Nature, Reason, Prudence, and Necessity Translation of to warrant any ill, then may be found, and discern'd in That the Scottish Declaration, Act of Justice on the Late King; Now if you'll see a piece Pa. 18. of Treason crown'd with Blasphemy, carry your Eye Four Pages farther. [e] God himself had Eclips'd, yea [e] Pa. 22. Lost the Brightest Beam of his Divine Glory, that Printed for ever shin'd on this Lower World, if he had not some way or other, brought That Person so some Tyton, who has Published as much since the King came in.

Me thinks These Practices should put you, and your Cause out of Countenance.

Scrup. You must understand, that though my Reason lies

## Tolerance Discovered

against Uniformity, yet I'm no Advocate for Anarchy; and 'tis with Non-conformists as with Other People; there are Good and Bad, of All Sorts. But to go with the Moderate: Would you have All men Conscience Govern'd by the same Rule, when 'tis Impossible to bring them All to the same Mind?

Conf. Better Particulars suffer for Incompliance with the Publique, than the Publique suffer for Complying with Particulars. Uniformity is the Giment of both Christian, and Civil Societies: Take That away, and the Parts drop from the Body; one piece falls from Another.

The Magistrate, (for Order's sake) requires Uniformity; You, and your Associates Oppose it upon a Plea of Conscience; and the Question is, Whether He shall Over-Rule Your Opinions; or You Over-Rule His Authority? This Dispute begets a War, for want of a Judge, and to Prevent that Mischief, I offer that a Judge is Necessary. Or put it Thus: You and I Differ, and Possibly we are Both of us in the Wrong; but most certainly, we are not Both in the Right: and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in This Case? shall we wrangle Eternally?

Scrup. No; We'll rather put the matter to Arbitration.

Conf. Well! but the Arbiter himself is Fallible, and may Mistake too; for let him have the Wisdom of an Angel, he cannot please us Both: for That which seems Right to the One will appear Wrong to the Other. Shall we stand to his Award what ever it be? If not; take into your Thought These Consequences: You Refuse to submit because 'tis Wrong: I may refuse by the same Reason, though it be Right: (for every Man's Reason is of Equal Force, where there is no Common, and Representative Reason to Bind All.) So that by your Reckoning, Every man is in the Right to Himself, and in the Wrong to all the World beside; every man's hand is against his Brother, and his Brother's against Him. (At least if I deceive not my self, in my persuasion, that Nature never produc'd Two persons, in all points,

points, of the same Judgment.) Now, if you can neither deny Confusion to be the Natural Effect of This Liberty of Judgment; nor the want of a *Regulating, and Directory Sentence*, to be the manifest Cause of This Confusion; I hope you'll Grant me the Necessity of an Unapproable Judge, who is on his part a *True and Just*.

Scrup. Is not the Word of God a sufficient Judge?

Conf. No; That's no Judge, but [a Rule for Christians chiltingworths to Judge by] and the Great hazard lies upon the Meaning safe Way, of That Rule. What swarms of Heresies have Over-spread Pa. 57.

This Land, since the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of Private Spirits?

Scrup. You say well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might All Relie upon.

Conf. And You say something too, if you could make appear, that *None at All*, is better then the best we have; or that Popular Errours, Numberless and Inevitable, (with the Dissolution of Communities to boot) are to be preferr'd to the few, and only Possible, Failings of Authority, attended with Peace, and Agreement. But to come to the short of the Question; This is it; Whether will you rather have, *One fallible Judge*; or, *a Million of Damnable Heresies*?

Scrup. Truly, as you have reduc'd it, to a Certainty of Peace the One way, and to as great a Certainty of Discord the Other; to a Certainty of Many Errours without a Judge, and to a bare Possibility of some few, with One; I am content in this Particular, to think a Final Judge Necessary.

Conf. If you find it so in the Church, sure you will not Dispute it in the State, especially against an experience too, the most forcible of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the Receptacle of Power, and the Limits of Obedience: with Distinctions betwixt the Political, and the Natural Right of the People; the Legal, and Personal Will of the Prince; and betwixt the Equity and Letter of the Law; till Judgment was forc'd from its Proper Course, and Channel, and the

## Toleration Discus'd.

Decision of Right and Wrong, committed to the Frivolous and Arbitrary Determinations of the Multitude.

*Scrup.* Pray'e by your Leave. I am as much for a Judge, as you; but not for One Judge to All Purposes; nor, I confess, for any Judge so Absolute as you would have him. *Conf.*

I tell ye again; A Judge, and no Absolute Judge, is No Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a Circle, as of a Controversie, by such a Judge. Nor is it my Meaning, that One Judge should serve for All purposes.

*Scrup.* Will you Divide your Matter then, and Assign to every Judicable Point, his Proper Judge?

*Conf.* You say well; For truly I do not take the Magistrate to be any more a Judge of My Conscience, than I am of His.

*Scrup.* 'Tis very Right; and it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himself, for him to Challenge it.

*Conf.* How comes it now, that we that Agree so well i'the End, should Differ so much 'ith Way to't? But I hope, the clearing of the next point will set us Through-right: For after the settling of the Judge, we have nothing further to do but to Submit; and so we'll Forward.

**Sacri-**

*Toleration Discus'd.*

S E C T. XIV.

**The Three great Judges of Mankind, are,  
GOD, MAGISTRATES, and CON-  
SCIENCE.**

Conf. Some things we do as Men; other things as Men in Society; and some again as Christians. In the first place, we are act'd by the Law of Individuals; which Law is, in the second place, Subjected to That of Government; and Both these Lawes are, in the third place, Subordinate to That of Religion; i. e. the Law of God's Revel'd Will. So that the Three great Judges of Mankind, are, God, Magistrates, and Conscience.

Man, as consisting of Soul, and Body, may be again Sub-divided within Himself. Take him in his Lower Capacity, and hee's sway'd by the General Law of Animal Nature; but in his Divine part, you'll find him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of Refin'd Reason: which Reason, in some Respects, may be call'd Prudence; and in others, Conscience; according as 'tis variously Exercis'd. The things which we do purely as Men, (abstracted from any Ingredients of Policy, or Regulated Religion) are either Natural Actions, Prudential, or Moral. Of the First sort, are Those Actions to which we are prompted by a Natural Impulse, in order to the Conservation of Life, and Beeing. Of the Third sort, are such Actions as we perform in Obedience to Moral Principles; (which are no other than the Divine Will veil'd under the Dictate of Humane Reason) and betwixt These Two, lies the Region of Middle Actions; that is, of such Actions, as although not of simple and strict Necessity, either to Life, or Virtue, are notwithstanding Useful, and Commodious, for the Guidance, and Comfort of the One, and for the Practice of the Other. The Accurate disquisition of This Interest, laies the Axe to the Root of the Question; for nothing has Embroyld us more, then the

16  
*Toleration Defens'd.*

*Mistaken Rights of Individuals*; which Mistakes being once Clear'd, by laying open the *Subordination* of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every man may take a Distinct view of his Own Province.

*Zeal. Dredged Regularly, and State These Subordinations as you go.*

Rom. 7. 23.

Conf. Content; and we are now upon the *Right of Individuals*; in which Naked simplicity of considering *MAN*, without any regard to the ordinary motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the world, we shall yet find a manifest *Subordination* within *Himself*, and the *Law of Sense*, under the Dominion of the *Law of Reason* in the same Subject. These are the Laws which the Apostle calls, *the Law of his Members, and the Law of his Will*. The *Former* (and the less Excellent) Law, is the *Law Sensitive*; which is no other than the *Law of Self-preservation*, (indeed, the *supreme Law of Animal Beings, as of Rationals, the Lowest*.) This *Law Sensitive* is (effectually) the Manifestation of *God*, in the *Creature*. (for what *Sense* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does)

*Zeal. But what is That Power which you call Nature?*

Conf. It is the Ordinary working of *God* in all his *Creatures*; by virtue of which *Divine Influence*, every thing is mov'd to seek the utmost *Perfection* whereof it is Capable. As for the purpose. The *perfection of Man*, is the *Congruity* of his *Actions*, with his *Reason*, which is nothing else but That which we call *VIRTUE*. The *Perfection of Beasts*, is a degree Lower; they are mov'd only by a *Sensual Impulse*, toward what's convenient for them, and when they have it, they *Rest*.

*Scrup. I can but Laugh, when people are Gravell'd, to see how they run to their Impulses, and Occule Qualities; which is but a more Learned way of saying, [They don't know what] Pray'e spare me a word; what Difference is there betwixt Their Impulse, and Our Choyce?*

Conf. Prethee be Quiet, unless thou hast a mind to have

## Toleration Discus'd.

92

have a Toleration for thy Dog. Their Impulse carries them on through a Sensitive Search, not any Deliberative Discourse; and no Election neither at last; but only the simple Prosecution of a Determinate Appetite, without Imagining any Proportion, betwixt the Means, and the End.

Scrup. But still we find that there is a Proportion; and the Motion appears to us, according to the Method of Reason, and Orderly proceeding from Question to Resolution.

Conf. Is it Reason think ye, that makes a Dog follow his Nose, and hunt for Meat when he's Hungry? Or will ye call it Choyce, if he leaves a Turfe for a Bone? In short; Hee's mov'd by Instinct, toward the End; and Sense carries him through the Means.

Scrup. But why should the same Proceeds of Means, and the same Application of Causes, be Ascrib'd only to Instinct in Brutes, and to Reason in Man?

Conf. You must take notice, that all Natural Operations, are Regular and Ordinate, by what means soever perform'd; but it does not follow, because the Method is according to Reason, that therefore the Instrument must be Reasonable. But to Mind our Busines.

The Law of Self-Preservation, is a Law Common to Beasts with Men; but not of Equal Force: for Their Sovereign Interest is Life, Ours is Virtue; and therefore your Argument for Defensive Arms, upon Pretext of That Extremity, was but a Braish Plea; For, if the Consideration of Virtue be not above That of Life, Where lies the Advantage of our Reason?

Scrup. But when the Death is Certain, and the Virtue Doubtfull, who shall decide the Question?

Conf. In a Case Abstracted from the Tyes, and Duties of Religion, and Government; Every Mans Reason Sits us Judge upon his own Life. As for Instance; You're in the Hands of Thieves; and upon This Condition, Either to Take a False Oath, or to Lose your Life. Your Conscience tells ye, you must rather Perish. But if without violence to a Superior Duty, you can preserve your Self, you're your own Murderer, if you do now

Thus

## Toleration. Discuss'd.

Thus far I think wee're safe, and I suppose Agreed; that *Every Individual is to Govern himself by his Natural Conscience*; but when the several *Particulars* come to be Bundled up in one *Community*, the Case is Otherwise.

Scrup. *I am sorry to hear ye say That. Why should not every Man be Govern'd by his Own Conscience, as well in Confort, as in Solitude? or, Will ye have it, that our Duty to God ceases, in the Act of becoming Subjects to a Civil Magistrate?*

Conf. Not so quick, and you shall have it. As to your *Conscience*, you are as Free now, as you were before; but your *Body* is no longer your Own, after you're once admitted a Member of a *Society*; and There's the Difference. You were your *Own servant before*, and now you are the *King's*: (for what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom, Resolve, and Force of Every Particular*, gather'd into One *Under-standing, Will, and Body?*) and This comes up to What I have already deliver'd; that, *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.*

Scrup. *But who shall be Judg of what's Indifferent?*

Conf. Wee'll scan That, the very next thing we doe.

You are already satisfid, that an *Authoris'd Judg* is Absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the Peace of *Church and State*; and to the Ending of all *Publique Differences*: but we are not yet Agreed upon our *Judges*, or, if we were, yet in Regard our *Judges* are but Men, and so may Erre, [ *Infallibility being departed with Christ and his Apostles, in lieu of which Living and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain and Infallible Rule* ] It may withall be taken into thought, How far a *Private Judge* may be Allow'd to Opine against a *Publique*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and (in some sort) to judge his *Judg*.

Scrup. *You say very well; for, place the Ultimate Decision where you will, 'tis (as you said before) An Infallible Determination*

mination as to the Strife, but not so, as to the Truth; and it comes to This at last, that every man, in some Degree, Re-judges his Judge. If I am fully convinc'd, either that the Command is sinfull in it self, or the Opinion Wicked; I am neither to Obey the One, nor to Embrace the Other; as being ty'd up by the General Obligation, of rather Obeying, and Believing God, then Man. Nay more; If in Obedience to the Magistrate, I commit a sin against God; and that Ignorantly too; That very Act, in Ignorance, is Criminal, if I had the Means of being better Enform'd: for certainly, no Humane Respect, can justify an Offence against God; Now if I am bound to do nothing that is ill, I am likewise bound, before I do any thing, to satisfie my self whether it be ill or no: for otherwise, I may swallow a false Religion for a True, and be Dam'd at Last, for not Minding what I Did; Which I take to be Proof sufficient, that no man is so Implicitly Oblig'd to rely upon other Mens Eyes, as Totally to Abandon the Direction of his Own; or so Unconditionally to swear Obedience to Other Mens Lawes, and Perswasions, as to hold no Intelligence at all, with That Sacred Law, and faithfull Counsellor, which he car-ryes in his own Bosom.

Conf. Forgive me, If you Imagine that I would have ye Renounce your Reason. No, but on the Contrary, I would have ye to be Guided, and Concluded by't, and only to Obey for Quaker's sake, so far as you can possibly Obey in Conscience.

Scrup. What if a Single Person hitts That Truth which a G-neral Council Misses? Which will you have him follow? Truth, or Authority?

Conf. Why truly Both; Truth with his Soul, and Authority with his Body; but so Remote a Possibility must not Presume to Bolster up the Thinkings of a Private Spirit against the Resolutions of Authority; yet for the very Possibility's sake, wee'l take That supposition likewise into our Care, and Word the sum of the Whole Matter Plainly Thus:

The Church says, ye May do; and the Law says, ye Must Do, That which your Conscience says, You Ought not to

## Toleration Discovered

Do. How will you Reconcile your Duty, and your Conscience, in This Case?

Scrup. Very well; for I think it my Duty to obey my Conscience, upon This Principle, that Conscience is God's Substitute over Individuals.

Conf. Keep to That; and Answer me again. Is not the Civil Magistrate God's Substitute too? If he be, How comes Your Conscience to take Place of His Authority? They are Both Commission'd alike, and consequently, They are Both to bee Obeyle alike; which is Impossible, where their Commands are Inconsistent.

Scrup. The Magistrate is a Publique Minister, and his Commission does not Reach to Particular Consciences.

Conf. 'Tis very Right; and on the other Side, My friend Scruple is a Private Person, and there's as little Reason to pretend that his Opinion should operate upon a Publique Law. So that if I Mistake ye not, Wee are Agreed thus far, That Every Particular is to look to One, and the King to the Whole.

Scrup. I do not much Oppose it.

Conf. If your Brother Zeal, would deal as candidly, with me now about the Ecclesiastical Power, as You have done in the Civill, we might make short work of This Question; and I hope he will not deny, that the Church is as well [a] Authoris'd to TEACH, and INSTRUCT in all the External Acts of Worship, as [b] the Magistrate is to COMMAND to those External Acts.

[a] Rutherford's  
Due Right of  
Presbyt. p. 356.

[b] Ibid. p. 352.

[c] Ibid. p. 407.

[d] Ibid. p. 415.

Ze. There is no Doubt, but [c] the Church, [as the Church] has a Ministerial Power, Ex Officio, to Define Controversies according to the Word of God; and that [d] A Synod, Lawfully Conven'd, is a Limited, Ministerial, and bounded visible Judg, and to be Believed in, so far as they follow Christ, the Peremptory and Supreme Judg, speaking in his own Word.

Conf. This will not do our business yet; for, if a Synod be but to be Believed in SO FAR as it followes Christ, &c. They that ought to be Concluded by That Act, are left the Judges of it, and the Credit of the Authority, rests upon the

Conscience, ( or, if you please, the *Phansy or Honour*) of the Believ'r: and so there's no Decision.

Ze. [ e ] The Truth is, we are to believe Truths Determin'd by Synods, to be Infallible, and never again liable to Retraction or Discussion; nor because [ So says pag. 36. the Synod ] but because [ So says the Lord: ]

Conf. Still y're short; for 'tis not in our Power to Disbelieve what we acknowledge to be a Truth; but That which is Truth at the Fountain, may become Error in the Passage; or at least appear so to me; and what Then?

Ze. It must be look'd upon as an Error of the Conscience, which is no discharge at all of your Obedience: from which Error, you are to be Reclayn'd, either by Instruction, or Censure. For, the People are oblig'd to [ Obey those that are Ruth. Free over them in the Lord, who watch for their souls, as these who must give an Account; ] and not Oblig'd to stand to, and Obey the Ministerial, and Official Judgement of the PEOPLE, [ He that Heareth You ( MINISTERS of the Gospel, not the PEOPLE) beareth MEE, and he that Despiseth YOU, despiseth MEE. ]

Conf. Then I find we shall shake hands. You two, Gentlemen, are joynely engag'd against the *Act for Uniformity*; and yet ye cannot say, that it wants any thing to give it the full Complement of a binding Law: Whether ye Regard either the Civil, or the Ecclesiastical Authority. Here's first, the Judgment of the Church Dueley Conven'd, touching the Meetness, and Convenience of the Rites and Forms therein Conteyn'd. You have next, the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorising These Rites, and Forms, and Requiring your Exact Obedience to Them. Now so it is, that you can neither Decline the Authority of your Judges, nor the Subjection of your Dutyes; What is it, then, that hinders your Obedience? Scrup. That which to me is More then all the World; It goes against My Conscience. Conf. Only That Point then, and no More upon This Subject.

That

## Toleration Discus'd.

That *God* is the *Judg* of the *World*; that the *Church* is the *Judg* of what Properly concerns *Religion*; that the *Civil Magistrate* is the *Judg* of what concerns the *Publique Peace*; and that *Every Mans Conscience* is the *Judg* of what concerns *his Own Soul*; is already Clear'd; The Remaining Difficulty is This, How I am to behave my self in a *Cafe*, where the *Law* bids me do *One Thing*, and my *Conscience*, *Another*.

To take a true Estimate of what's before us, we must first ballance the Two Interests that meet in Competition.

There is in favour, and for the *Execution* of the *Law*, (meaning that of *Uniformity*,) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. the *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is likewise for the *Equity* of it, the solemn and deliberate *Judgment* of the *Church*: which is, Effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *Observance* of it, there is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, (which, if it be withdrawn, does not only invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the sinews of *Sovereign Authority*; and, which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; for, take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapses into *Confusion*.)

Now for the *Counterpoiz*; *AGAINST* This *Law*, and Thus supported, appears your *Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't, It may be worse, and in Truth, any thing that's *Ill*, under that name.

*Scrup.* But what's the *World to Mee*, in the scale against my *Soul*?

*Conf.* You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more than every man may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is That your *Principle*?

*Scrup.* Yes, out of doubt; 'tis Mine, and Yours, and His, and any Man's that's Honest.

*Conf.* Well, hold ye a little: Your *Conscience* will not down with *This Law*, it seems; and *This Law* will as little down with *Your Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it stands? What if it yields? Make the Case worse then 'tis; as Bad as Bad may be, in your own favour

Favour; You cannot Comply with the Law; and the Law will not stoop to You. What follows upon't?

Scrup. The Ruine of many Godly People that desire to Worship God according to his Word.

Conf. That Plea wrought little upon You from Us; but let that pass. What Sort of Ruine do ye mean? Ruine of Liberty? or Estate? (for This Law Draws no Bloud) State your Misfortunes I beseech ye.

Scrup. No Man must Hold a Benefice, or Teach a School, but upon Terms of such Subscription, or Acknowledgement, as many an Honest Man would rather Dye, than Consent to; So that We are Distrest, not only for our Selves, as being Depriv'd of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedomes; But our Poor Infants are Expos'd to be Undone, wanting the Means of a Religious Education.

Conf. If This be All, never Trouble your Selves; for Many an Honest Man has Out-liv'd more than this comes to. In short, there's a Huge Clamour; but (God knows) with very Little Reason. Some Particulars will possibly Suffer for want of a Tolerant: and who are They; but (Most of Them) the Actual Enemies of the King; and All of Them, the Profest Opposers of the Law?

If you would see the Event of Granting what you ask; Turn but your Face toward -41, and then Blush, and Repent. Do so; and thank his Majesty for your Heads, without troubling him with your Consciences. Beside; you're not aware, that in Contesting with the Law, you Quarrel with your Self: There's your own Vote Against ye; and all this muttering is no other then your Factions Will, wrangling with your Political Consent. Yet still I say, Stick to your Conscience.

Scrup. Your Raillery is ill Plac'd.

Conf. Then 'tis the better for my Earnest: and 'tis in very, very Great Earnest that I speak it. Wee'll come now to the Pnsh, and, without What's, or Why's, lay down for Granted, that there is a Real Distance betwixt This Act, and your Conscience. How will you divide your Duty?

## Toleration Discus'd.

Scrup. I'll follow your Advice, and Stick to my Conscience.

Conf. You do the Better: now, Change Hands; and Phantise your self the Supreme Magistrate. He has a Double Conscience. One, that concerns Himself, Th' Other his People.

What his Majesty's Personal Judgement is, has been Declar'd Abundantly; what his Prudential Judgment may dispose him to, lies in his Royal Breast. But be That as Heaven shall Order it, Here's the Partition of your Rights. The King's Prerogative has nothing to do with your Conscience, and your Conscience, has as little to do with His Majesty's Prerogative. The King is accomptable to God for the welfare of his People, and You are only Accomptable to God for the Good of your little Particular. If you cannot Obey the Law; do not: but abide the Penalty. If the Sovereign cannot Relax the Law, He's as Free to Execute it. Your Conscience requires Liberty; and your Gouverneur's Conscience requires Order, and the very ground of your Demand, is the Reason of His Refusal. Now why you should expect that your Sovereign should bring down His Conscience to Yours, when you find, upon experiment, that you cannot persuade your Own up to His, is to me a Mystery. To Conclude; Keep your self within your Sphere, and where you cannot Consent as a Christian, Submit as a Subject.

Scrup. I cannot much deny the Colour of your Argument, and yet me thinks there's so much to be said too, for Toleration, that I'm afraid you'll Leave me as you found me.

Conf. I'll sterue thee first; for thou shalt Eat no Meat till thou'rt my Convert: wherefore Go on, and do thy worse.

S E C T. X V.

The Toleration, which the Non-Conformists  
Desire, has neither GROUND nor  
PRESIDENT.

Scrup. **T**is a most horrible kind of Persecution.  
Conf. Why then Government's a most horri-  
ble Ord'nce. For the Punishment of Evil-Doers, is the one  
half of the Magistrates Commission: and what's an *Evil-*  
*Doer*, but the Transgressor of a Law?

Scrup. But, What do ye think, when the Making of One  
Law is the Transgression of Another?

Conf. I think, such a Law is better *Broken* then *Kept*.  
But remember the Judge, my Friend; and know, that *Laws*  
are made for the *Community*, not for *Particulars*; and *Good*,  
or *Bad*, they're *Laws* still. Suppose them *Cruel*; y'had as  
good say, *The King's a Tyrant*, as *Call* them so; for *the*  
*Law is no other than the King's written Will*. Now to your  
Persecution again; say what ye will, y'are Safe.

Scrup. Do not you take the Persecuting Party to be gene-  
rally in the Wrong?

Conf. I was of That Opinion three or four year agoe.  
But if it be so, the *Persecuted* have the less reason to Com-  
pleyn, having so comfortable a marque of being in the  
Right.

Scrup. But what can justify the very Constitution of a  
Persecuting Law?

Conf. You should rather have Asked, What can justify  
the *Toleration* of a *Troublesome People*? The *Law* stands  
*Fixt*, and *Immovable*; and yet upon a *Guard* too. You At-  
taque *That*, and then ye'cry, *That* (or the *Magistrate*) *hurts*,

## Toleration Discus'd.

you : which is thereabout, as if you should Throw your self upon the point of a Sword, and then Curse the Cutler.

Scrup. Christians will not persecute Pagans for Conscience, and yet they worry one another.

Conf. And in some Cases they may have reason : for an Infidel is less dangerous to the Publicque than an Apostate. And beside ; the One is but giving Quarter to a fair, and Open Enemy ; the Other is to take a Snake into your Bosome. The One, in Fine, denies but your Opinion ; the Other, your Authority. Pray'e take notice by the By, That which you call Persecution, I translate Uniformity.

Scrup. How shall the Magistrate Distinguish, whom he should Punish, and whom Not?

Conf. Better a great deal, whom he should Punish, than whom he should Spare. They Act ; and then he brings Those Actions to a Rule, and That shews him whether they are straight, or crooked.

Scrup. How do you know but you may Persecute God Himself, in a Right Conscience ?

Conf. I tell ye, you are not Punish'd for your Thoughts, but for your Actions : and you'd Infer, that because (for ought I know) Any Man may be in the Right, No Man must therefore be presum'd to be in the Wrong ; That were to grant a Sanctuary to Wickedness, and to Confound Sin with Conscience.

Scrup. Does not God command, that the Tares should be let alone till the Harvest ?

Conf. But if that were meant of Practical Impieties, how should Governors be a Terror to Evil-doers ; when all Malefactors must be let alone till the day of Judgement ?

Scrup. Alas ! alas ! Severity, at best, does but make Hypocrites.

Conf. But, by your Leave, Forbearance does it much more : for Those that come In for Fear, never went Off for Conscience, and so were Hypocrites before : and then you never consider Those Infinite Swarms of Seditious Spirits that

that throw themselves into the Tolerated Party under the veile of Sanctity. In fine ; 'tis much more advisable to take away the Liberty of *Sem*, then to Grant a Liberty to *All*. For betwix Those that are not *Wise*, where is great hazard of *Error* ; and Those that are not *Honest*, where is great Danger of *Design*. (with your leave, Gentlemen) you'll find well nigh the Computation of your Party. But why do I stand *Fencing* in a *Cafe*, where all that's good for ought, even in the Favour'd Party, runs nigh an equal Perill ? Is any honest man the better for the Last War ? (I mean, save Those that are Forgiven)

Scrup. Then you presume a War.

Conf. Or what is equal to't ; a Standing Army, upon necessity to keep them Quiet. For in This Town, a Toleration of Religion is Confus-German to a Licence for Rebellion : and at the best, 'tis but One Ill that procreates Another.

Scrup. And can you Imagine that so many restless Humours, and disturb'd Consciences, will ever be Quiet without it ?

Conf. You talk of Conscience. Shew me a Conscience, make proof of a Conscience. I'll shew ye a Thousand things like Consciences : but alas ! narrowly look'd into, what are they but meere Phantie, Artifice, or Delusion ? A company of People Thus divided ; The one half of them Deceive *Us*, and the other half of them Deceive Themselves ; for 'tis not what every man *Thinks*, that is presently Conscience ; but what every body *Thinks*, in Congruity with the Word of God ; and of That Word, the Church is the best Judge. If Conscience Alone be sufficient, the Bible is Superfluous : Nay if Conscience, joyn'd with the Bible, be sufficient, what becomes of the Apostles Commission ; [Go, and TEACH all Nations ?] We shall undertake to Teach THEM, whom our Saviour has appointed to Teach US.

But This is a little beside our busines ; for the stress of the Question, in order to a Toleration, does not bear so much upon This Point, whether your Opinions be True or False ; as whether Safe or Dangerous. There are a sort of People that Reason by one Principle, and Act by another ;

## Toleration Discus'd.

that begin with *Liberty of Conscience*, and end with the *Liber-ty of the Subject*: If You be of That number, *There's Death in the Pot*, and no Enduring of ye.

Further, *Liberty of Conscience* turns naturally into *Liber-ty of Government*, and therefore not to be endur'd; especially in a *Monarchy*; and to say truth, 'Tis commonly the *Method of Embroiling Kingdoms*; and but the *Emb'ryo of Sedition*. Than which, nothing lyes opener to him that will only attend These Two Particulars: *First*, In those Times, when there is Generally the *least care of Religion*, you shall observe commonly, the *most Talk* of it; and *That* too, among such as least understand it. If This Impulse be not Afted by *Conscience*, 'tis from a *worse Principle*, and by no means to be *Encourag'd*; for the *Mas's* of the *People* is already in a *Distemper*; and Those *Out-cries* and *Transports* for *Toleration*, are but the *Convulsions* of a *Sick Govern-ment*. *Secondly*, *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Affairs* are so *Twisted* and *Enterwoven*, that what Party soever clayms a *Right of Freedom* to the former, may be fairly suspected to have a design likewise upon the latter: For the *Threds* are so *Enterlaid*, that *Both Interests* make, Effectually, but *One Piece*; so that the *State* that *allowes the People a Freedom* to *choose their Religion*, is reasonably to *Expect* that they will *Take a Freedom* likewise to *choose their Government*.

*Scrup.* But why should a *Toleration* do worse Here than in Holland?

*Conf.* I would y'had found a better Instance. But, not to Dispute how They came *Thither*; let it suffice, That where They are, a *Toleration* would bring us.

*Scrup.* What do ye think of Poland then?

*Conf.* I think, That story speaks little in your Favour, either in Respect of Their frequent *Seditions*, or in Regard of Their Prodigious and Heretical *Opinions*; and yet They lye under the strongest Obligation in Nature to keep Them *Quiet*; the *Turk* being their *Neighbour*; which makes Their *Cafe* to be an *Agreement* Rather *Against a Common Enemy*, than *Among Themselves*. But back to Holland, Theirs is no *Perfect Tolerant*: For, ye see, in the *Cafe*

*Cafe of Arminius*; finding *Barneveld* in the Head of the Party, (of whose Intendments, the States were at that time Jealous) They would not upon any Terms Allow that Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to Others; but Conven'd a Synod, and Exterminated the Sect.

There's a Great Difference too betwixt the *Interest*, and *Condition*, of Their Ministers, and Ours. *Theirs* Preach but upon *Good-behaviour*; They live upon the *States-Pay*; and upon the least Colour of *Offence*, They may be *Turn'd off* at Pleasure; Whereas *Ours* Clergy have a *Free-hold* in their *Benefices* for *Terms of Life*; and if they be *Falsiontly Dispos'd*, they may Evade the *Law* to do a *Mischief*, without making a *Forfeiture*. Consider next, that *Their Case*, was in some sort *Your Own*, only a *Common Cause* kept ye *United*. In fine, *Nothing but the fear of a Common Enemy can withhold a Lilertine-Nation from falling foul upon it self*. If ye would see what work *Peters*, *Bridges* *Sympson*, and *Ward*, made in *Holland*, Read *Bayly's Dissasive*, *Pa. 75.* and be Asham'd of Owning such a Party.

Scrup. *Tom see the fruit then of driving men to the Extremity of flying their Country for Religion.*

Conf. You see rather, in what They did *A broad*, what They would have done at *Home*, if They had been *Tolerated*; and Particularly, Observe Their Proceedings in *New-England*, where They Acted at *Liberty*, and *Govern'd Themselves*, by Their *Own Laws*. *Bayly Reports* (from People upon the Place) that of *Forty Thousand Persons*, *Three Parts of Four*, were not admitted to be in Any Church. If you have a mind to know any more concerning Their *Heresies*, Their *Cruelty*, Their *Sedition*, their *Hypocrise*, &c. look into his *Dissasive* again, *Pa. 53.*

Scrup. *But ye see the French allow a Toleration.*

Conf. They do so; but not a Toleration of several sorts of *Roman-Catholiques*; Neither do Those of the *Religion* admit of any *Sub-division* among *Themselves*; nay, They have been often *Press'd to't*, and *Refus'd* it. Step into *Germany* next; and see the Deplorable Effects of This *Phanati-*

## Toleration Discus'd.

Resuscitatio  
P. 189.

*Phanatical Persuasion* There: but above All, where ever the Beauteous Discipline has set her *Holy Foot*, All other Judgements suffer a daily Martyrdome. To Conclude, Toleration was That which Queen Elizabeth, in all her Distresses, could never be periwaded to. Firm to This Resolution (says Sir Francis Bacon) not to Suffer the State of Her Kingdome to be Ruin'd, under pretence of Conscience and Religion. Yet Shee Conniv'd so Long, and the unthankful Faction made such use of Her Favours, that Shee was forc't upon the Rigour of a Strict Uniformity, to Help Her Self, and That Preserv'd Her. To say no more, The Sentence of the Late King was Given in the Pulpit, though the Blow was Struck upon the Scaffold.

Zea. Not by the Presbyterians, I hope.

Scrup. Truly by Them, if by Any.

Conf. Well Gentlemen, while you Debate That Point, I'll call for Dinner.

---

## S E C T. X VI.

### At whose Door Lyes the BLOUD of King CHARLES the MARTYR?

Zea. And why by Them, if by Any, I beseech ye? Was Peter a Presbyterian?

Scrup. Yes surely was he, as much as Marshall was an Independent.

Zea. Go to, Let us spare Names, and Fall to the Matter.

Scrup. The Question is, Upon Whom the Guilt of the Kings Bloud lyes? You charge it upon Us; and I, upon You.

[The

[The Presbyterians Spoyl'd Him as a King, before Others Common-  
Executed Him as a Private Man] [Have they not Hunted wealth Stated,  
and Perfu'd Him with Sword, and Fire? Have they not  
formerly Deny'd to Treat with Him, and their now Re-  
canting Ministers Preach't against Him, as a Reprobate In-  
curable; an Enemy to God, and his Church? Marqu'd for  
Destruction? &c.] [The Covenanting-Ministers, with  
their Party clearly Depos'd the King, when They Ac-  
knowledg'd and submitted unto a Power, as Superior unto  
His; Levy'd war against Him, as against a Traytor, Re-  
bel, and Enemy to the Kingdome, &c.] [The Scots had Parker's Scot-  
proceeded so far as to Imprison the Kings Person, and to lands Holy  
Sequester all his Royal Power, which is a Temporary De- War, P. 17.  
throning, and Depositing]. *Nay hear what some of your Rab-  
bies have not stuck to say in my Justification* [The Removal Policy of  
of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-genuflexions and crin- Princes, P. 33.  
gings, with Crosslings, and all that Popish Trash and Trum-  
pery, Countervails for the Bloud and Treasure shed and  
spent in these late Distractions] (*and this was in --56.*) Once  
more and you shall take your Turn. [This may serve to Justifie Robert Bos-  
the Proceedings of this Kingdome against the late King, glass Sermon  
who in a Hostile way set Himself to overthrow Religion, the Phoenix,  
Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.] P. 52.

Zea. *I could Afford you Two, for One, and Pay you in your  
own Coyne.* [His Capacity (*says Parker*) was at Westmin- English Tran-  
ster when His Body was upon the Scaffold at Whitehall st. P. 18.  
Paying unto Justice for his Misgovernment, and Tyranny]  
[Think not to save your Selves (*says One of your Mini- Flesh Expi-  
sters to the Commons, about a Month before the King Suffer'd*) ring, &c.  
Think not to Save your Selves (*says He*) by an Unrighte- P. 26.  
ous Saving Them who are the Lord's and the Peoples  
Known Enemies, for Certainly if ye Act not Like GODS  
in This Particular against men truly Obnoxious to Justice,  
They will be like DEVILS against you ---- Benhadad's  
Life was once in Abab's Hand, and He ventur'd God's  
Displeasure to let him go. But see how Benhadad Re-  
wards Him for it. *Fight neither with Small nor Great, but  
with the KING of Israel*] P Conf.

*Toleration Discus'd.*

*Conf.* Come Gentlemen, Your Dinner's Ready; but first I Charge ye, by that Love ye bear to *Truth*, and *Honesty*; deal Freely with me; What's Your Opinion of your Cause?

*Zea.* We'll take time to Consider of it.

*Conf.* And of your Petition too, I beseech ye. Go to; I dare swear, there's Neither of ye will Dye at Stake for't.

*Scrup.* But still I'm where I was, as to the Favouring of Tender Consciences.

*Conf.* And truly so am I; where it is possible to Separate the *Errorr*, from the *Person*: but to permit a *Publique Inconvenience* for the Satisfaction of a *Private Scruple*, were (upon very weak pretence) to *Unhinge the Law*, and *Consequently to Dissolve the Government*.

*Det ille veniam facile, cui veniam est opus.*

Sen. Agamem.

*The END.*



## The CONTENTS.

<b>INTRODUCTION,</b>	Pag. i
S E C T. 1.	
<i>Liberty of Conscience Stated,</i>	P. 5
S E C T. 2.	
<i>Universal Toleration Unlawful,</i>	P. 7
S E C T. 3.	
<i>Limited Toleration, does not answer Liberty of Conscience,</i>	P. 18
S E C T. 4.	
<i>The Non-Conformists Plea for TOLERATION, upon Reason of State,</i>	P. 14
S E C T. 5.	
<i>The Non-Conformists Plea for TOLERATION, from the Merits of the Party,</i>	P. 24
S E C T. 6.	
<i>The Non-Conformists Plea for TOLERATION, from the Innocence of their Practices and Opinions,</i>	P. 26
S E C T. 7.	
<i>TOLERATION Causes Confusion both in Church and State,</i>	P. 36

## The Contents.

### S E C T . 8.

- The Danger of TOLERATION in this Functure,*  
PAG. 32

### S E C T . 9.

- Arguments against TOLERATION in respect of  
the Party that Desires it; with Animadversions up-  
on a certain Pamphlet, Entituled, A SERMON  
Preached at ALDERMANBURY-CHURCH,  
Decemb. 28. 1662.* P. 42

### S E C T . 10.

- Arguments against TOLERATION, in Respect of  
the Authority that is to Grant it,* P. 60

### S E C T . 11.

- The Proper Subject and Extent of Humane Power,*  
P. 64

### S E C T . 12.

- The Bounds of TOLERATION, with some Re-  
flections upon SCHISM and SCANDAL,* p. 69

### S E C T . 13.

- The Necessity of a Final and Unaccomptable JUDGE,*  
P. 81

### S E C T . 14.

- The Three Great Judges of Mankind, are GOD,  
MAGISTRATES and CONSCIENCE,* P. 89

### S E C T . 15.

- The Toleration, which the Non-Conformists desire,  
has neither GROUND, nor PRESIDENT,*  
P. 99

### S E C T . 16.

- At Whose Door Lies the BLOUD of King  
CHARLES the MARTYR?* P. 104

The END.

